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VIy	name is the Lazarided
	childhood ambition was to change the world
	fondest memory is the image of my children's smiling faces.
	soundtrack is laughter.
	retreat is reading.
	wildest dream is to unlock the secrets of the universe.
	proudest moment the opening day gala at Perimeter Institute for Theoretical Hoyest
	biggest challenge is spending more time with my family.
	alarm clock is my Black Berry
	perfect day is spent at the cottage with my family.
	first job during University was designing microcode
	indulgence is watching morries with my lovely wife.
	last purchase was 4 Food Navas, one for each number of the family
	favorite movie us Primer
	inspiration is the power of imagination,
	life is about making ideas happen
My	card is American Express



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TIME

January 23, 2006 Vol. 167, No. 4

FROM THE EDITOR	6
10 QUESTIONS: Emma Thompson	8
LETTERS	12

NOTEBOOK

GRAFTBUSTING: How the FBI got serious about corruption; Alito clears the panel, but his nomination may drag out; was the al-Zawahiri strike a costly miss? MILESTONES: Shelley Winters dies: the man who shot the Pope is released 21

NATION

AFTER ABRAMOFF: Disarray in the G.O.P., delight among the Dems and a flurry of reform plans follow a lobbvist's fall 22 **NEW ORLEANS PORTRAIT: President** Bush visits the city and notes progress, but no one can agree on how to rebuild 30

COVER: Photograph for TIME by Gregory Heisler

JOE KLEIN IN JERUSALEM: With Sharon incapacitated, his successors jockey for power-and watch the Palestinians 36

THE DEFIANT REGIME: Iran restarts its nuke plans and cracks down at home. 38 CANADA VOTES: Why the Conservatives could prevail after 12 Liberal years40

BUSINESS

ENERGY CRISIS: How pricey natural gas affects the economy-and your budget ... 44



30 A New Orleans resident and his small nephew visit the old-ruined-neighborhood

WIL	D CHILD	: Olympian	Bode Miller, a	3
free	spirit fr	om the bacl	kwoods, speak	S
his	mind an	d skis his w	av	4

ANATOMY OF A RUN: How Bode does THE RENEGADES: Meet other Olympians

SCIENCE

OLD AND STONED: Too many boomers
are reaching their 60s with drug
addictions acquired long ago54
FADING FROGS: Is it global warming? . 57

ARTS

MEMOIRS: Is A Million Little Pieces a pack of little lies? If so, does it matter? 58 MOVIES: Soderbergh's Bubble has pop. 63 BOOKS: The Cold War hails an era 65

YOUR TIME

TECH: TV on your desktop..... HEALTH: Dr. Andrew Weil on bird flu. 70

PEOPLE: Brangelina is breeding!73

ESSAY: Andrew Sullivan on how George Bush tries to get around the law......74

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New Roles for Two of Our Favorites

UNLIKE MOST COLUMNISTS, Andrew Sullivan doesn't take sides-he makes new ones. Neither predictably right nor left. Andrew always has an invigorating take on the subject of the daywhether it be politics, religion, society or culture. TIME readers have enjoyed his essays for years (in fact, he has one on this week's back page), and now you can enjoy his observations every day on TIME.com. which is where you can find his blog, the Daily Dish. One of the original

bloggers, Andrew has a loval Web readership that constantly informs and challenges him. If you are not already a fan. I urge vou to check him out on TIME.com. I'm confident you will find him as engaging as I do.



SULLIVAN AND WEIL Both can be found on TIME.com as well as in TIME

other members of our health team can look forward to reading Andy once a month. Andy preaches the ultimate in preventive medicine. His advice on how to live a well-balanced life has won him millions of fans. And TIME readers can now send him questions on TIME.com after his columns appear; we'll pick out the best ones and then post Andy's answers on TIME.com.

I'm also delighted to announce that this week Dr. Andrew Weil, another longtime friend of TIME's (we excerpted his book Healthy Aging last October), joins us as a columnist. Readers who enjoy Dr. Sanjay Gupta, Christine Gorman and

Iames Kelly, Managing Editor

Before she skated off with the gold at the

Sarah Hughes twirled her way onto the cover of TIME. View our past Olympic covers online, including those of Eric and Beth Heiden, Phil Mahre and Tamara McKinney. And starting Feb. 10, visit time.com for photos and commentary from Torino, Italy.

COVER WORTHY We've highlighted skate and ski champs alike



THE TIME.COM POP QUIZ Who was the last American athlete to win gold in a Winter Olympic Alpine ski event?







FOR THE ANSWER Go to time.com/olympicquiz, where you can test your knowledge about the history of the Winter Olympic Games.



Chiasson has captured the images and voices of Katrina victims as they recount their stories of survival amid the devastation. Watch this moving presentation at time.com/katrina.

SUNDANCEThe next best thing to hobnobbing with the stars at the Sundance Film Festival is reading about it

on time.com. Get the latest buzz from Park City, Utah; interviews with actors and directors; and much more from correspondents Rebecca Winters Keegan and Desa Philadelphia, starting on Jan. 19.



TIME journalists

appear regularly on PBS with interviewer Charlie Rose to discuss the events of the week, fascinating characters and major ongoing stories that they are following. Check out charlierose.com for up-to-date schedules, show transcripts and the Charlie Rose Show message board.

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10 QUESTIONS FOR EMMA THOMPSON

scar-winning actress and screenwriter Emma Thompson, 46, trades corsets and curls for padding and a monobrow in her new film about an ugly but magical child minder, *Nanny McPhee*. Over tea, the Briton tells Time's Rebecca Winters Keegan why *Mary Poppins* got it wrong, why becoming a parent at age 40 requires a bit of extra effort and why she stores her Oscars in the loo.

HAIRY MOLES, A SNAGGLE-TOOTH—DID YOU ENDY PLAY-ING A HAG? This look took an upsettingly short time to achieve. It took longer to get dressed up for bloody Sense and Sensibility.

THE MORAL OF NAMY MCPHEE SEEMS TO BE THAT CHILDREN CAN HANDLE HONESTY FROM ADULTS. IS THAT WHAT YOU BELEVE? They're miles more O.K. with the sort of rigors, tragedy and innate chaos of life than we are. This understanding of chaos is something we lose as we get older. It's a shame, because it makes us much more rigid.

MARY POPPINS WAS PRETTY, AND SHE SANG. WHAT HAS NANNY MCPHEE GOT ON THAT? She has a magic stick. She makes space. She's the opposite of Mary Poppins, who turns up and shows off and starts pulling things out of her carpetbag. This movie is a western. There is a situation of chaos. Then a stranger rides in and-using unorthodox methods-sorts out the situation, restores balance and then has to leave. People say, "Is it like Mary Poppins?" Actually, it's like Shane.

YOU WROTE THIS SCRIPT AS WELL AS SENSE AND SENSIBIL-ITY. DO YOU HAVE ANY RITUALS WHEN YOU WRITE? No. My husband restored a barn in Scotland where we partly live, and he made a space at the top and



said, "That'll be where you write." I haven't written a bloody thing there because it was designed for me to write in, so of course I can only write in the toilet. I write longhand. I find computers so overwhelming. They seem somehow more adult than me.

WHAT'S YOUR PERSONAL TAKE ON NANNIES? I had a nanny when my daughter was younger. She's 6 now. The nanny was a third pair of hands. You both get so knackered. But I would say to people, For heaven's sake, if you're going to have kids you've got to put the work and the time into it. Otherwise, there's no point. Once you're a mom, you're not just you anymore. You're split. It is a completely different human state. I noticed that more because I had my child when I was 40. My tectonic plates had slid into place. Hawing to shift them

again is something you notice.

WHAT ARE THE LIES WE TELL
ABOUT PARENTHOOD? That it's

so wonderful. There's no question about that. But it's also difficult, tiring and boring.

YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND HAVE ALSO ADOPTED A RWANDAN ORPHAN. HOW DID THAT COME ABOUT I'VE! We haven't officially adopted him. We work with refugees in London, and one day we met this wonderful Rwandan lad who was 15 at the time. He had been through some awful things. He's 19 now. I don't like nuclear families. I think it's very good to look beyond your tribe.

MOST ENTERTAINERS LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THEIR CHARITABLE WORK. BUT YOU'RE ALMOST SHY ABOUT TOUTING YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN HIV/AIDS AND REFUGEE CAUSES. WHY?

Sometimes it seems an aggrandizing thing to talk about it. I do think Live 8 and all that was excellent and people do become much more aware. But engagement is where it's all going to change things.

WHAT WOULD YOU HAVE PEOPLE ENGAGED TO DO? The insanity of consumption

bothers me. Talk about the opiate of the masses. It ain't religion anymore. It's stuff. Why don't governments stop people from making crap?

I HEAR YOU KEEP YOUR OSCARS IN YOUR BATHROOM.

You hear correctly. They look far too outré anywhere else. They're great big, gold, shiny things. They're up there tarnishing quietly along with everything else I own. including my body. It does give people the opportunity to pick them up and play with them in privacy rather than having to say, "Can I hold that?" You'd have to come to my house. There's no posh space. Every space is kind of a family space. I'm surprised my daughter hasn't used them for nefarious purposes actually. They're heavy.



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Memory problems: Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or

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Tolerance: When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks,

Dependence: Sleep medicines can cause dependence, especially when these medi-

When people develop dependence, they may have difficulty stopping the sleep

If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your Withdrawal: Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stooped

occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two

In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights

Changes in behavior and thinking: Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not com-

- · more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- agitation

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musical nuances without disturbing others. And

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whether you're on the go, at home or in the office.

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sorts of music - classical, rock, and jazz - sounded refined and natural." Travel & Leisure Golf said. "Forget 'concertlike' comparisons: you'll think you're onstage with the band." With their enhanced audio performance, today's OC2 headphones are even better, delivering audio that's so crisp and clear you may find yourself discovering new subtleties in your music.

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The Good Samaritans

The selection of Bill and Melinda Gates and Bono as Time's Persons of the Year for 2005 was applauded by readers who admire the trio's powerful efforts to combat global poverty and disease. Other readers singled out different heroes, those who withstood the year's many challenges of disaster and war

YOUR CHOICE OF BONO AND BILL AND Melinda Gates as Persons of the Year was inspired [Dec. 26, 2005-Jan. 2, 2006]. In a year marked by unusual tragedy, it was heartwarming to read about an unprecedented outpouring of generosity. Your honorees are not only appropriately symbolic of that philanthropy but also unique examples of individuals who, by virtue of their wealth and fame, can change the course of history. What your story revealed, however, was that not just their wealth and fame heightened their impact. Credit the Gateses for learning firsthand about the diseases of the poor, then making careful choices about the deployment of dollars to ensure the greatest possible return for humankind, Credit Bono for his uncommon ability to build trust and empathy across an eclectic group of influential people.

BARRY BRIGGS Mill Valley, Calif.

WHAT A STUNNINGLY BRILLIANT CHOICE.
it's enough to restore faith in the essential wisdom of Homo sapiens. Bless you.

TONY STEBLAY

Minneapolis. Minn.

I CAN'T THINK OF ANY OTHER ISSUE I HAVE enjoyed more. It was filled with hope, courage and generosity.

KENT HANSON Everett, Wash.

THE REAL PERSONS OF THE YEAR WERE the victims of Hurricane Katrina.

SAM BLISS Rutherford, N.J.

THE VOLUNTEER SHOULD HAVE BEEN TIME's choice. Bono and the Gateses have the resources to do great things for the world, and they should be obliged to. There were, however, many people who



44Those three are much more than heroes. They are true world leaders, radically pioneering a course that is unifying the global community.

RYAN BLACK San Clemente, Calif.

left the comfort of their homes to help rebuild houses in tsunami-stricken countries. Generous people welcomed Katrina victims into their homes, and some individuals who were struggling financially managed somehow to donate money. Although Bono and the Cateses have done great things, people who help others out of the kindness of their heart are even more significant.

> MARGARITA V. VANEGAS Seattle

2005 WAS A YEAR OF GREAT PAIN AND FRUStration as a result of the war in Ima and devastating natural disasters. It would have been easy and predictable to select someone who personified the war or the horrific Hurricane Katrina disaster, but in a time of despair and anguish, Bono, Bill and Melinda bring hope. The world' that unlikely team does for the world's poor makes me believe that if we band together, it really is possible to change the world for the better.

MEGAN McCANN

THE COURAGEOUS VOTERS OF IRAQ ARE the ones who deserve that honor.

MYRA ADAMS Alexandria, Va.

WHEN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND OFficials regularly display their incompetence, it is refreshing to see what private citizens are able to accomplish on their own. Well done!

> WARREN LEBOW Voluntown, Conn.

GOD BLESSED BOND WITH A BEAUTIFUL voice and a beautiful soul. He is not another misinformed celebrity with a cause. He has done his homework maderiends on both sides of the partisan divide in Washington and worked to bring hope to those in despair. I would ask anyone who dismisses him as a pompous rock star, What have you done to help those plagued by poverty and disease?

SHANNON AUSTIN Scottsdale, Ariz.

Unique Partnership

THE ARTICLE ABOUT THE ALLIANCE BEtween former Presidents Bill Clinton and George H.W. Bush [Dec. 26-Jan. 2] should be required reading for every

ARCHIVE timearchive.com



Manytime families get together to celebrate holidays or take vacations, the specter of gridlocked highways and crowded terminals casts a shadow over travel plans. In our Sept. 12, 1988, cover story, we stated that "many travelers are looking back in anger at odysseys through pothoided streets, jam-packed freeways, bottlenecked bridges and overstuffed airports." Read more at timearchiev.com.



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SETTING THERECORD

PRIMARY PROBLEMS

The Milestone on former Senator Eugene McCarthy [Dec. 19] said in error that his overwhelming victory in the 1968 Wisconsin primary persuaded Lyndon Johnson to drop out of the presidential race. Johnson the Wisconsin primary.

■ We also mistakenly stated that Robert Kennedy defeated McCarthy in the June 5, 1968, California primary and was shot dead that night. The California primary was held on June 4. Kennedy was shot in the early hours of June 5 and died the following day.

NEVER A NOMINEE

The Milestone on comedian Richard Pryor [Dec. 19] said incorrectly that he won an Oscar nomination for his performance in Lady Sings the Blues. Pryor was never nominated for an Oscar.

politician in the country. You agree on some things and you disagree on others, but you work out the differences with dialogue and respect for each other. What an amazing concept!

DOUG WEAVER Grand Rapids, Mich.

"WHEN OPPOSITES ATTRACT" DEMONstrates to partisan politicians that there are at least two political personalities. former Presidents Bush and Clinton, who can work together on a wide range of issues for the common good. Those two exhibited mutual respect, unselfish behavior, kindly affection and dignified civility rarely seen in or out of government. They give an impressive example of comity in a realm in which divisiveness and partisanship rule on many fronts.

ISAIAH J. ASHE Huntsville, Ala.

Praise and Blame

Jan. 2]. Klein's praise of President George W. Bush for his words about the importance of freedom and democracy holds little weight against Bush's inept response to the Katrina disaster or his mostly failed approach to curtailing global terrorism. Klein should examine our President's actions rather than his words. SANDY KRAWITZ Bethesda, Md.

HOW UNUSUAL TO READ A POSITIVE COL-

umn that complimented political leaders on both sides of the aisle. Congratulations to Klein for a wonderful and thoughtful article. LAWSON A. THOMAS

Mesa, Ariz.

KLEIN'S PRAISE OF THE PRESIDENT "FOR standing with human-rights activists throughout the world" was off the mark. All Americans stand up for freedom, and most represent American values better than Bush does. His Administration propagates misinformation, circumvents the law and defends his actions-no matter how foolhardy-while attempting to squelch objective criticism. STEVE MOSKOWITZ

Roston

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IOE KLEIN'S COLUMN "IT'S TIME TO PIN A Few Medals," in which he pays "homage to those who have taken risky stands on principle" even when he has disagreed with them, left me feeling as if I were living in an alternate universe [Dec. 26-

TIME, JANUARY 23, 2006

Brook Alf NOW

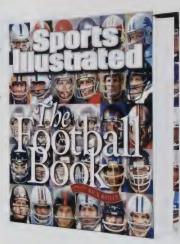
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NOTEBOOK

VERBATIM

66 Did we really need to have our children die to have officials pay attention to us?

MEHMET YENIGUN, resident of Diyadin, Turkey, after authorities declared an official avian-flu outbreak, but only following the death of three children who had been among 14 people infected

66 Be quiet over there. Scurrilous dogs. >>

EDWARD KENNEDY, Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, jokingly berating Judiciary Committee colleagues for groaning after he was granted two extra minutes to speak during Supreme Court nominee Samuel Alito's confirmation hearings

66 I don't have any animosity for him. I hope he's praying for me in heaven.

THOMAS GUMBLETON, 75, Roman Catholic auxiliary bishop of Detroit, alleging last week that he was sexually abused 60 years ago by a priest, whom he declined to name and said was dead

66 We don't want a medieval knight. >>

MAJOR GENERAL STEPHEN SPEAKES, explaining the drawbacks of providing too much body armor to soldiers in Iraq

66 The vast majority of Iraqis prefer freedom with intermittent power to life in the permanent darkness of tyranny and terror. 37

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH, warning Americans to gird for more violence in Iraq over the coming year

66 The Donner party's experience was bad, but it wasn't as bad as everybody's been told. >>

JULIE SCHABLITSKY, University of Oregon anthropologist, who, after completing a three-year study of the place where members of the infamous 1846 expedition allegedly resorted to cannibalism to survive, said she had no evidence to prove they had eaten humans

Wnlike other candidates, I'm not going to hide my evil side.

JONATHON (THE IMPALER) SHARKEY, former pro wrestler and candidate for Minnesota Governor, whose platform includes a plan to impale terrorists

66 The doctor then told me that I should not do any events for three days and also said to me that I should not speak for three days. My wife said, 'Make it seven.' 39

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER, California Governor, after cutting his lip in a motorcycle crash in Los Angeles

THE FBI GETS TOUGH

OR MANY VOTERS IN
the hearland, the
Jack Abramoff congressional lobbying
scandal has simply
confirmed their suspicion that all the
bums inside the
nation's capital are on the take.

But Washington's scandal du

jour is just one example of the

political corruption that the FBI

Since only some of the former drug agents were moved to the counterterrorism division, the shift in focus freed up 200 additional agents to combat public corruption, says special agent Chris Swecker, the criminal-division chief. By 2003, senior rau officials were faming out to field offices across the U.S. to drive home the point that public corruption was now the



Swecker, left, is leading r bi efforts to crack down on corruption

levels of government across the country. Under code names such as Tennessee Waltz. Plunder Dome, Safe Road and Lively Green, the FBI has mounted a growing number of investigations and undercover operations that have busted cops, mayors, judges, Governors-and everyone in between. Since 2002, the FBI has engineered a surge of more than 40% in public-corruption indictments, with 2,233 cases pending nationwide, compared with 1,575 four years ago.

Much of that increase stems, strangely, from 9/11. As the fbit turned more of its attention and manpower to counterterrorism, the bureau handed off most of its drugrelated inquiries to the Drug Enforcement Administration. eriminal division's No. 1 priority.

In Chicago, U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald, also the special counsel in the CIA-leak an ongoing contracting and patronage probe that has already led to 30 indictments. including those of two lieutenants of Mayor Richard Daley, A federal official tells TIME that the bureau is looking closely at possible Daley links to the scandal, although an FBI spokesman stresses that Daley himself is not implicated to date. At the same time, former Illinois Governor George Rvan stands trial on various corruption charges (which he denies) that arose initially out of a probe into whether

low-number license plates

NOTEBOOK

were being doled out to political supporters when Ryan was Illinois Secretary of State.

Before Katrina pounded New Orleans last summer. that city's longstanding reputation for graft was reinforced by Operation Wrinkled Robe, which uncovered a bribery scheme initiated by a bailbonds company at a local courthouse. In addition to various officials in the Jefferson Parish sheriff's office, two state judges were convicted for their roles in helping steer business (i.e., prisoners) to the firm. In San Diego local government has been effectively frozen-and a city-council member has been convicted (although he remains free on appeal)-as a result of a scandal in which local officials accepted cash bribes from a strip-club owner in exchange for promises to try to change a city law to allow hands-on lap dances.

Meanwhile, dozens of border guards, National Guard soldiers and other lawenforcement officials in



Ex-Illinois Governor Ryan, right, is on trial

with accepting bribes from FBI agents poing as Mexican drug smugglers. Towns in Florida and Connecticut—where Republican John Rowland quit the Governor's mansion in 2004 and went to jail last year for his part in a gifts-for-contracts scheme—are also charging their local officials.

The FBI even had a local West Virginia politician facing corruption charges pose as a candidate in a state-legislature election in order to help

uncover vote buying and other instances of election fraud. The phony candidate pulled out before the actual election, but when he ended up with more than 2,000 votes in a close race. Some critics wondered whether the feds had gone too far and skewed the results.

Corruption in politics is, of course, as old as politics itself. So the current spike in pros-

ecutions does raise a rather obvious question that FBI criminal chief Sweeker is happy to answer. "I don't think there is more corruption," he says. But with more agents on the job, "we're just trained better and look more to find it."

—B Timoth, Burger, With

-- By Timothy J. Burger. With reporting by Brian Bennett

FEMASTILL FIDDLES

t may have a new leader, but the Federal Emergency Management Agency, blasted for its slow response to Hurricane Katrina, is still being criticized for tardiness. Oklahoma officials told TIME last week that it took



Cattle flee a wildfire

that state's request for comprehensive disaster assistance to combat wildfires that have charred nearly 400,000 acres since November, Oklahoma requested funds from FEMA on Dec. 30 for a variety of measures, including the prepositioning of supplies and retardant-dropping planes from out of state. But neither Governor Brad Henry nor his state disaster chief could get calls returned from FEMA in Dallas, "You just would not believe what they have put us through," said a Republican Congressman from Oklahoma. Political leaders from both parties finally asked the White House to lean on the agency. The "full-court press," as Henry spokesman Paul Sund calls it. worked: the aid was approved last week, A FEMA official noted that the agency had okaved 24 smaller fire grants for

the state and wanted to

application for help was

justified. - Ry Michael Duth.

With reporting by Rod Walton

be sure the broader

Getting Over Alito

he Semual Alto hearings are over but some Democrats were left warning mere. Trings went body from the start: few Americans watched, and those who did saw Alto and his supporters calmty parrying suggestions that as a Supreme Court hastice, he would threaten America's balance of power, chill theries and citizens' right to privacy. "He's rape-a-doping them," said a frustrated Democratic aide. Any penints the Dems scored were enseed by Altro's wife Martia-Aru, who broke down in tears as the questioning of her husband given increasingly personal. Her emerican racction sealed the husband's vietory—but the Dems had other reasons to fight on.

> Harry Reid and other moderate Democrats would like to refocus on the more politically profitable work of bashing President Bush and the Republicans on Irra and corruption, liberals including Ted Kennedy hope to delay the Judiciary Committee vote on Alito.



That would give advocacy groups time to target Alito via TV ads, petitions and phone banks. "They want some additional time to beat the drums in opposition," says an aide.

Defeating Allto seems unlikely. The best Dems can hope to do, the aide says, is highlight, wedge issues that can be used against weak Republicans in November. Still, the liberal lobby is taking tough. "We've just begun to fight," says Raiph Neas of People for the American Way. If anything, such words encourage G.O. Pers.

Embodiered by the expectation that Alito's victory is secure, they are happy to drag out the debate an extra week. Doing so may produce a bonus by moing a vote confirming Alito closer to the State of the Union address on Jan. 31, allowing the President to showcase bits wim.—By Masama Calabrasi.

The Blunt Instruments of War

fa U.S. attempt last week to ill Ayman al-Zawahiri, al-Oaeda's second in command. was indeed a total failure and neither he nor any other al-Qaeda leaders were killed, it could prove costly. In human terms alone, the price was high. Local reports. which could not be independently confirmed, said 18 people, mostly women and children, were killed by the CIA-directed missile strike on the village of Damadola. close to Pakistan's northwest border, U.S. officials say al-Zawahiri was the intended target.

DNA tests on the victims will by to determine whether al-Zawahiri, or any other al-Qaeda officials, were among the dead. At week's end, however, Pakistani officials were saying al-Zawahiri had not been in the village. An Arabic TV station, quoting sources close to al-Qaeda, said Saturday he was alive and well. U.S. officials insisted it was too early to conclude that they had missed him. emment has never had firm control over the borderlands, where many tribes are sympathetic to al-Qaeda and the Taliban and see President Pervez Musharraf as a traitor for cooperating with the U.S. Musharraf is especially senmation Minister, Sheik Rashid Ahmed, announced, "We will not allow such incidents to reoccur." But American officials insist that some of the intelligence that led to the strike had actually been provided by Palistan's intellirence service.

The CIA strategy of targeting top terrorists with missiles has had some reported successes: last month, a missile took out Abu Hamza Rabia, said to be al-Qaeda's third-ranking leader. But such strikes require highly accurate local intelligence, which is in short supply. "I've seen intelligence reports that have the top al-Qaeda leadership all over a huge geographical area out there," says a senior Pentagon. official. A lot of the intelligence, he notes, "comes from people who are deliberately trying to deceive us." -By Aparisim Ghosh with reporting by Douglas Waller and Sally B. Donnelly/Washington, Phil Zabriskie and Ghulam Hasnain/Islamabad



Villagers staged angry protests, condemning the U.S. for killing civilians. A Pakistani official in Islamabad expressed concern Islamabad expresses could spread. The Pakistani govsitive to claims that he allows the U.S. to conduct military operations in Pakistan. U.S. Ambassador Ryan C. Crocker was summoned to the foreign ministry to receive a formal protest. Pakistan's Infor-

NO CHANGING HIS STRIPES

HEN EYO MORALES WAS elected Bolivia's President last month, his Socialist leanings set off alarms in the U.S. But on a tour that took him to nine nations—many led by fellow leftists—before his Jan, 22 inauguration, it wasn't his policies but his alpaca-wool pullover that had observers seeing red.—By Jenime Les-St. John

SAMULA LPA ADRIAS BRAD



SPAIN After the sweater's global debut at a Jan. 4 meeting with Prime Minister José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, a horrified Spanish columnist asked, "Is there no one who might lend Mr. Morales a dark suit?"



CHINA On Jan. 9 in Beijing, Morales paired the pullover with a leather jacket. He and Chinese President Hu Jintao discussed trade, nationalization of oil and, perhaps, how to pack lightly.

SOUTH AFRICA Of course he wore it in the rainbow nation! It may be summer there, but the sweater for all seasons reappeared on Jan. 11 for a visit with President Thabo Mbeki in Pretoria.



BLOGWAO



in China: officials in the city of Shenzhen announced last week that two cartoon cops would soon start to appear on local Web browsers as a reminder that the police are patrolling cyberspace too Such candor however did not play well with Netizens. PONDBLOG said, "China is trying to make Internet censorship palatable by putting cute faces on its online thought police." JACKARANDA derided the "Great Firewall of China," deeming the cybercops proof that "the Net can be developed and strangled all at once." But a cautious FREECASHSPACE questioned the upside of "life in a lawless frontier, cyber or otherwise."

Snooping isn't so secret anymore



363 Pilgrims killed last week near Mecca in a stampede at the annual hajj, which drew 2.5 million faithful to Islam's holiest city 2.500 Estimated number of pilgrims on hajj trampled to

7.486 Number of performances of Phantom of the Opera through Jan. 9, when it overtook Cats as the longest-running show ever on Broadway

death since 1990

80 million People who have seen Phantom worldwide since its 1988 premiere



10 million Estimated number of female fetuses aborted in India over the past 20 years by parents hoping for sons

933 Number of females per 1 000 males in India

14 million iPods sold from October to December 2005triple the number sold in the same quarter of 2004

850 million Songs bought online through Apple's iTunes service since its 2003 launch

Sources AP World News Digest, Marketwatch 17-





Have you noticed that Dick Chenev has been walking around with a cane lately? He said that he really didn't need the cane. He just liked the idea that a tree had to be cut down to make it. -MY LENO

4The Alito hearings are so dull that that woman in Cincinnati who was dead in front of her TV for two years-she got up and turned them off.77 -DAVID LETTERMAN

"The guy who invented LSD celebrates his 100th birthday tomorrow. Yeah. he plans to spend the day surrounded by friends, family and a 9-ft.-tall unicorn."

MESPN COURTS FEMALE VIEWERS WITH WORLD'S EMOTIONALLY STRONGEST MAN COMPETITIONT -Fake news headline from THE ONION

-CONAN O'BRIEN

For more political humor, visit time.com/cartoons



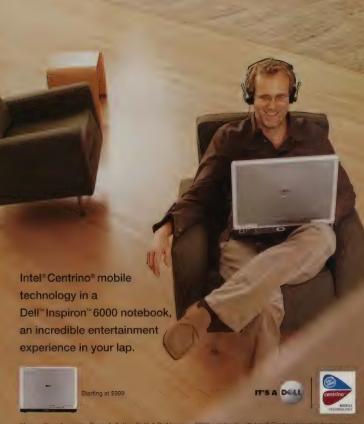




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A RELEASED. MEHMET ALI AGCA.

48. Turkish assailant who spent almost 20 years in prison in Italy for shooting and wounding Pope John Paul II in 1981, then served five more in a Turkish jail for the 1979 murder of a journalist; in Istanbul. The Pontiff, who was shot by Agca while riding in an open car through St. Peter's Square in Rome, forgave his would-be assassin and visited him in prison. But after the Turkish press railed at his release. Justice Minister Cemil Cicek ordered a review of whether Agea had been credited correctly for time served. Cicek said Agca was apparently jailed for only 19 years and 1 month in Italy-not 20 full vears-and may be required to serve

11 months more. PLEADED NOT **GUILTY. JOSE**

PADILLA, 35, U.S. citizen held without charge for more than three years as an enemy combatant suspected of terrorist ties; to new chargesfiled after his lawyers were poised to challenge his detention

before the Supreme Court-of

conspiracy to "murder, kidnap and maim" abroad; in Miami.

DIED. ERIC NAMESNIK, 35, U.S. Olympic swimmer twice ranked No. 1 in the world; of head injuries sustained in a car crash; in Ypsilanti, Mich. The University of Michigan standout won silvers in the 400-m individual medley at the 1992 and '96 Summer Games.

85, zaftig, high-decibel star who played some of the movies' most famous victims: in Beverly Hills. Born Shirley Schrift, she had the attributes of a '50s Hollywood dish-latkes, perhaps-and could twist prim dialogue into raunch with her throaty laugh. But the shrillness in a Winters

V DIED. SHELLEY WINTERS.

character gave men homicidal urges. She was strangled by Ronald Colman (A Double Life) and drowned by Montgomery Clift (A Place in the Sun). Robert

Mitchum slit her throat

(The Night of the Hunter); James Mason drove her to fatal madness (Lolita). She won two Oscars. for The Diary of Anne Frank and A Patch of Blue, and lent her increasing

heft to The Poseidon Adventure. But her ripest later role was as herself: a tell-all memoirist and rowdy talk-show guest who was still entertaining audiences by exasperating men.

VDIED. SIDNEY FRANK. 86. eccentric beverage-marketing guru who in 1997 introduced the "superpremium" Grev Goose vodka-with its frosted bottle. Cézanne-inspired label and \$30a-bottle price tag-and seven vears later sold it to Bacardi for more than \$2 billion; in San Diego. In the 1970s, Frank sensed an unquenched niche in

a more rambunctious marketcollege students-and began importing the near unknown German liqueur Jagermeister, sometimes compared to cough

syrup. With the help of a cadre of pretty "Jagerettes," who poured free shots in bars, the brand soared in sales from some 500 cases in 1974 to more than 2 million last year.

> V DIED. BIRGIT NILSSON. 87, international opera star whose rich timbre. dramatic interpretations

and unrivaled stamina made her the finest Wagnerian soprano of her generation; on Christmas Day; in her hometown, Vastra Karup, Sweden. Level-headed and sharp-witted, Nilsson thrilled audiences from New York to Milan in operas by Verdi (Aida), Strauss (Elektra, below) and Puccini (Turandot) but won her most enthusiastic fans with dynamic lead performances in such Wagner works as The Ring of the Nibelung and Tristan und Isolde. Asked to name the primary requirement for playing Isolde, a punishing role she sang some 200 times, she said. "Comfortable shoes."



14 YEARS AGO

DNA testing-which last week confirmed the guilt of ROGER KEITH COLEMAN. executed in Virginia in 1992 for the murder of his sisterin-law-did not exist at the time of his 1982 trial.



The case against Coleman is built solely on circumstantial evidence ... The prosecution's case rested on three pieces. A forensic test demonstrated that one of two types of sperm found on the victimthe other sperm, the prosecution argued, was that of her husbandbelonged to someone who was a blood type B secretor. meaning that the blood type can be determined by samples of any bodily fluid. Coleman matched the description-but since roughly 10% of Grundy's population has type B blood, it is likely that others in the town fit the bill. The prosecution also produced brown hairs the same color as Coleman's. lifted from Wanda's red pubic hair ... A jailbird snitch testified that while sharing a cell with Coleman before the trial. Coleman stated that he and another man raped Wanda, then the other man killed her.

-TIME, May 18, 1992

Read the entire article at time.com/years





OUID PRO OUO?

Jack Abramoff's \$10,000 Question

obbyist Jack Abramoff's Oct. 23, 2000, e-mail to his business partner Michael Scanlon was, as usual, not subtle, "Would 10K for NRCC from Suncruz for Ney help?" Scanlon shot back: "Yes, alot [sic]! But would have to give them a definate [sic] answer-and they need it this

week ..." That electronic exchange, a record of which was reviewed by TIME, is among the evidence that Republican Congressman

Bob Ney of Ohio accepted favors from Abramoff and Scanlon as part of an alleged quid pro quo-a charge to which the business partners each recently confessed in larger plea deals. While the plea agreements spell out various gifts, campaign donations and junkets that Abramoff and

Scanlon say they provided to Ney in return for "official acts," the e-mails present in one place the specific elements of a swap that Abramoff has told investigators was prearranged and explicitly reciprocal, according to a source close to the Justice Department probe. To wit: a \$10,000 donation to the

Republicans just days before Ney inserted into the Congressional Record a statement praising an Abramoff business partner. Ney's lawyer, Mark Tuohey, calls the accusations "totally false."

Abramoff has told the feds, according to the source, that Nev. the chairman of the powerful Committee on House Administration, and his staff repeatedly demanded help in raising cash for the National Republican Campaign

THE DYNAMICS OF RECIPROCITY noff, right, has

Now, a few indictments and plea agreements later, the political landscape has shifted mightily, and Boehner is seeking to replace DeLay by running for majority leader as Mr. Clean, an outsider bent on shaking up the system that superlobbyist lack Abramoff mastered and that then snarled him and, so far, mainly the Republican Party in scandal. "Boehner Outlines Plan for Reform, Renewal and Changing the Status Ouo," blared a statement Boehner issued less than 48 hours after DeLay announced he would not seek re-election to the House's No. 2 post, "We're kind of stuck in

neutral, and we need to renew ourselves." Boehner told TIME. But will that renewal be more than

cosmetic? DeLay's announcement, marking the rueful surrender of a warrior who once wielded such unquestioned power that no bill could reach the President's desk without his assent, touched off a furious scramble at the Capitol among ambitious members who want a leadership seat when the music stops on Feb. 2, the date set for internal House G.O.P. voting. The election falls two days after President George W. Bush's planned State of the Union address and could do as much to define the Republican Party at the start of the midterm election year as any pronouncement from the White House. "If we don't get our act together," says Representative Ray LaHood of Illinois, "we'll be the mi-

A loss of 15 seats in November would

leave Bush with a Democrat-controlled House for the final quarter of his presidencv. which his advisers believe could mean a nightmare of gridlock and investigations into Administration decisions and activities. In perhaps an even worse scenario for Bush's legacy, one of the city's bestconnected Republicans said his friends are starting to fearfully consider what he calls the "whole shebang" theory: that the party will hold on to the House this year but just barely, then lose the House, Senate and White House in 2008. Republicans point out that Democrats also accepted money from Abramoff clients and did favors for him, but even those Republicans acknowledge that when the public thinks both sides are dirty, the party in power is likely to pay the higher price.

House Speaker Dennis Hastert of Illinois is pushing for an aggressive, if belated, overhaul of travel and lobbying rules-perhaps so far-reaching that it could be challenged in court as an abridgment of free speech, according to House G.O.P. strategists. In what may be the clearest sign that Republicans are feeling their political mortality. Hastert aides revealed at week's end that the Speaker is pushing Congressman Bob Nev of Ohio to resign from his post as chairman of the Committee on House Administration, which dispenses everything from sofas to BlackBerrys and will handle part of the lobbying-reform package. Ney, identified as "Representative A" in Abramoff's indictment, is accused of exchanging "official acts" for gifts and contributions from the lobbyist (see box), and Republican

If we don't get our act together, we'll be

Committee-the "NRCC" of Abramoff's e-mail. Under then House majority leader Tom DeLay, Ney and his fellow G.O.P. chairmen had to meet steep fund-raising quotas or risk losing their plum positions.

On Oct. 20, 2000, the e-mail records show, Scanlon sent Abramoff Scanlon's draft of a statement praising Adam Kidan, a co-owner of SunCruz Casinos, a Florida gamblingboat company that Abramoff and Kidan had bought the

month before, after a public dispute with the previous owner. Abramoff and Kidan, who have since pleaded guilty in Florida to fraud in connection with their financing of the SunCruz purchase, hoped that Nev's positive statement would "let people know that SunCruz now was in honest hands," according to a source familiar with the case. In an Oct. 23 e-mail. Abramoff proposed throwing \$10,000 at the NRCC in the form of a SunCruz check signed

by Kidan. The money was sent within days, and Nev got credit within the G.O.P. for raising it. Ney then inserted praise for Kidan into the Oct. 26 Congressional Record.

Tuohey denies that Ney was under pressure to raise funds and says his client had no contact with Abramoff or Scanlon regarding SunCruz. "There was a check to NRCC by SunCruz, and Ney knew nothing about it." Tuohey says.

As the Abramoff scandal has unfolded, alarm has spread on Capitol Hill that Justice Department prosecutors are building corruption cases on legally reported campaign donationsa worry that revelations of the alleged Nev quid pro quo are sure to fuel. Although refusing to comment on the specifics of the Ney case, a U.S. government expert on criminal law made the following point: "Contributions are lawful only if made in support of a lawmaker's policies. They are clearly illegal as part of a prenegotiated deal involving a quid pro quo." For a host of nervous politicians familiar with the murky ways of Washington, that fine a distinction is probably small comfort. -By Adam Zagorin and Massimo Calabresi, With reporting by Melissa August/ Washinston



leaders said they would not be surprised if

he was indicted.

Boehner is challenging Congressman Roy Blunt of Missouri, a maestro of the K Street lobbying community who holds the No. 3 spot in the House, majority whip. Blunt, the son of a state legislator and father of the Show-Me State's Governor, Matt Blunt, has been acting in the No. 2 job since DeLay temporarily left the post after his indictment in September in a Texas political money-laundering case. If Blunt is chosen to stay on, Republicans will pick a new whip on Feb. 2 as well. Blunt said over the weekend that he had commitments from more than the 117 House members needed to win. Counts in leadership races are notoriously squishy, though, because the ballot is secret and many of the promises are made over the phone

ugly quickly. Blunt allies called Boehner a "joy boy" more concerned about partying than about the party. Boehner allies distributed a Rube Goldberglike diagram, intentionally drawn to resemble opponents' depiction of Hillary Rodham Clinton's failed health-care

plan, headlined REP. ROY BLUNT'S EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF JACK ABRAMOFF AND HIS INDIAN GAMING CLIENTS.

As backers of the two bickered, a variety of key Republicans began to fret that outraged voters would punish the party if it simply reshuffled a few chairs after being confronted by federal prosecutors with evidence of excess that is adding up to a historic scandal. "A bad political environment could turn into something tsunami size," said a Republican official close to the White House. That worry inspired the entry late last week of a dark-horse candidate for DeLay's job, John Shadegg of Arizona, who stuffed envelopes when his father managed Barry Goldwater's 1952 Senate campaign. "We need a clean break from the scandals of the past," Shadegg said in his announcement. Within hours, he was endorsed by such key conservative voices as the organization Club for Growth and the publications Human Events and National Review

House leaders, eager to burnish their image and expecting more ethics horror stories to emerge, are working with Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona on proposals to reform lobbying (see box). There is talk of lowering the limit, now \$50, on the value of a single gift that a lobbyist can give a lawmaker or aide, provoking jokes about a \$49.50 party to cash in before any change takes effect. Hastert is considering supporting a ban on junkets for members and aides that are financed by outside groups and restricting travel to government-paid trips. An aide involved in the negotiations, skeptical that any meaningful change will result, calls the proposals "a Band-Aid on a gunshot wound."

Congressional Democrats plan to launch a major attack on Republican ethics this week, with party leaders assembling 100 Democrats from the House and Senate, along with Democratic mayors and Governors, at the Library of Congress to unveil reform legislation intended to set the tone for the election year. The plan calls for a prohibition on gifts, including meals, entertainment and travel, from lobbyists and special interests. Democrats also say they would shut down what they call "payto-play schemes," such as DeLay's "K Street Project," which encourages companies and lobbying firms to hire Republicans to improve their access to lawmakers. Even Boehner said in a statement last



week, "If I am elected majority leader, there will no longer be a K Street Project or anything like it."

The House Republicans at the same time are eager to get out a message that could be summed up as "We don't know Tack." Members are rushing to disayow any connection to Abramoff or stressing to reporters how little they knew him, and donating money he gave them to charity. When Hastert announced his plans for lobbying reform, Boehner initially suggested that no new rules were needed but quickly reversed course as members of Congress emphasized that he would have to support the reforms to get their votes in the leadership race. Both Boehner and Blunt are getting lots of questions from members about their exact connections to Abramoff and other lobbyists, underscoring that they don't want to be embarrassed by their new leader having a legal or ethical

Trying to get the vote of one member. Blunt said, "I like to go golfing, but I pay for it myself every single time," a reference to Abramoff-orchestrated trips DeLay and other lawmakers have taken that have landed them in trouble. Boehner has done the same." I told John I had two questions," says LaHood, who is backing Boehner. "Are there going to be any Abramoff scandals or corruption? He told me he had never met Abramoff. And the second. Would Boehner support Jobbying and ethics reform? And he said, Absolutely."

But Boehner is no babe in the woods. He was one of Newt Gingrich's closest allies in bringing Republicans to power in 1994. When they took control of the House in 1995 after 40 years of Democratic rule, Boehner, as the House conference chairman, the No. 4 leadership position, was put in charge of building coalitions with business groups. He ran a meeting every Thursday of more than a dozen top business lobbyists in Washington. The relationship was mutually beneficial: House Republicans pushed through pro-business legislation, while the business groups provided campaign cash and grass-roots support to get bills passed. Boehner, who was part of the so-called Gang of Seven that had attacked Democrats for overdrafts from the House bank in the early 1990s, quickly became less known for his reform actions than for his closeness to lobbvists. He famously handed out campaign donations in the form of checks from tobacco lobbyists to members on the floor of the House in 1995. He now says it was a mistake he regrets. Boehner is best known for





Boehner, left, once handed out checks from tobacco lobbyists to members on the House floor; Blunt, above, is a maestro of the lobbying community; Arizona's Shadegg isn't as linked to K Street as the others but doesn't have their clout either



leading the House push on No Child Left Behind, the program championed by Bush that makes public schools accountable for student performance.

Blunt, former president of Southwest Baptist University, a small school in Missouri, has risen quickly through the leadership ranks since he entered the House in 1997. His close alliance with DeLay helped his ascent, though their relations have frayed in recent years as Blunt started to establish his own power base. As a House leader, he signed a letter, at the request of another member, opposing the construction of a casino in Louisiana that might have competed with a pair of casinos run by two Indian tribes represented by Abramoff. But the lobbyist favor that continues to dog Blunt is much closer to home. In the fall of 2002, Blunt infuriated House Republicans by trying to insert into a Homeland Security bill a provision that would have increased penalties on the sale of stolen cigarettes. The provision was strongly backed by Philip Morris, and Blunt was at the time dating Abigail Perlman, now his wife, who is a lobbyist for Altria, the parent company of Philip Morris. A Blunt aide denied that the Congressman was working at the direction Shadege has the strongest reform credentials of the three contenders. He entered Congress in the famous class of 1994, which campaigned on a pledge to reform Washington after years of Democratic rule. He once headed the caucus of the House's most conservative members of Congress and often angered Republican congressional leaders by opposing bilts that included pork-barrel projects that would increase the deficit.

Shadegg is not linked to lobbyists as much as the other two candidates, but he lacks the depth of support among colleagues that Blunt and Boehner established long before this race started. In the system that House Republicans have set up, members of Congress rise to leadership positions in part because of their ability to raise campaign cash. Aspiring leaders, who are often so popular in their own districts that they don't even have opponents, still raise millions of dollars so that they can give the money to others in tough races. They often raise this money through fund raisers organized by major business groups, and many of the donors are lobbyists. The result is that it is difficult to find a member of Congress with the clout and experience to be majority leader who doesn't have ex-



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tensive lobbying ties, as do Blunt and Boehner.

One symptom of lobbying run amuck is the proliferation of earmarks—spending placed in legislation, often without public review, for specific projects. Beating up on lobbyists is easy to do, but we have to put our own house in order, and at the top of that list is earmark reform," says Republican Congressman Jeff Flake of Arizona. The most famous recent earmark was last fulls.

so-called Bridge to Nowhere-a provision that Representatives from Alaska inserted into a bill to spend close to \$223 million to make it easier to reach a virtually uninhabited area of the state. In the end, the money was cut from the budget in light of public outrage. Lobbyists are paid to land earmarks: Abramoff used them to get money for his tribal clients. The number of those earmarks mushroomed from close to 2,000 in a highway bill in 1998 to more than 6.000 in that bill last year. Practitioners say the boom is a major factor in the doubling of the number of lobbyists in Washing-

ton over the past five years, to almost 35,000, and Bush points to the popular practice as one of the reasons curtailing federal spending is so difficult.

All three candidates have suggested that they would support earmark limits, a favorite McCain cause. Only Boehner has been specific about what he would change. saving he would try to prevent federal dollars from going to private entities for exclusively private purposes. This still wouldn't stop wasteful spending on unneeded bridges and other projects. But one plan would identify the sponsors of earmarks and force members to defend them, eliminating the many mysterious entries that now bristle in the budget. Blunt defends earmarks but has proposed tracking those who request them and how the monev is spent. Boehner and Shadegg both say they have never had an earmark directed to their congressional district.

However inviting that pork may be as a rhetorical target, though, earmarks give House members a chance to direct money to particular interests, and it's unlikely that they will want to give up that power. So in the warrens of the Capitol, Republicans debate how they can project change while keeping things much the same. The big totals on future spreadsheets depend on it.—WWB. reporting by Meliss August, Massime Calabresia.

and Michael Duffy/Washington

REFORM



Ways to Fix K Street

No fewer than six lobbying-reform proposals were floating around Congress late last week, and leaders of both parties were promising that one, or perhaps elements of all, would pass before Groundhog Day. TIME surveyed the latest proposals and the lawmakers behind them to handleau the probable outcome.



Ban lobbyist-paid travel, Until the scandal broke, it was fine for your Representative to take an all-expenses-paid trip to Pago Pago on behalf of the Alaskan Coconut Packing Council and do virtually no work upon arrival. Lobbyists proposed, arranged and paid for those tripsthen went along to chalk up quality time. Now, under almost every proposal, Republican and Democrat, the junkets would be history. Chance of passage: 99%. Likely work-around: lawmakers will try to carve out an exemption for "educational" trips sponsored by policy groups and friendly foreign countries.

Slow the revolving door. Former members of Congress and their aides must wait a year after leaving their posts before lobbying former colleagues. Lawmakers want to double the waiting time to two years. Chance of passage: 90%. Less likely: extending the ban to five years. Meaningless extra: the House will probably pat itself on the back for barring former members turned lobbyists from exercising their right to return to the House floor or mingle in the House gym-a step that sounds tough but isn't. Said a G.O.P. lawmaker: "By the time we get to the floor, we already know how the vote is going to turn out."

TIME, JANUARY 23, 2006

Ensure more transparency, under this plan, lobbyists would have to alsoidose every dollar they speed on lawnskers. The limit on the value of a gift that aides and low-makers would be allowed that aides and low-makers with the speed of the

Reform airfare rules, Lavemakors who really rate with lobytasts can often get a lift on a corporate jet and pay only first-class fare for the courtey—a savings of time and thousands of collars. Bills offered by both Feingold and Artzona Senator John McCain would require charter flights to be reimbursed at full market value, making them prohibitive. Chance of passage: 50%.

Ban earmarks. The once rare but now common practice of earmarking specific amounts of money for individual pork projects in hard-to-stop conference reports has given rise to a new class of lobbyist that specializes in the no-fineprinits line items. John Boehner, the Ohioan who wants to be House majorly leader, backs this change, but so far it faces long odds. Chance of passages: 35%.

Ban fund raising while Congress is in session. Instead of dropping by two fund raisers a night in Washington. lobbyists would have to wait until recesses, making it harder to convert last night's donation into tomorrow's amendment. By lightening schedules, a ban would improve lawmakers' lives but flatten the capital's vast catering and events economy. Still, guipped a Midwestern lawmaker, "it would be the best airline bailout we could ever pass," since more fund raisers would take place out of town. Chance of passage: 10%. -By Michael Duffy



AFTER THE FLOOD

WHOSE RECOVERY IS IT? Mardi Gras is approaching, but so much

of New Orleans still suffers. As residents debate the future, this much is clear: the city will have fewer people. How happy they will be is another question

Photographs for TIME by Anthony Suau











By CATHY BOOTH THOMAS

HE PRESIDENT'S HANDLERS STEERED him away from hard-hit areas in New Orleans, just as they had during his previous visits to the stricken city. So George W. Bush last week proclaimed himself pleased with the city's progress after his motorcade drove past the largely undamaged 19th century mansions of St. Charles Street. His friends and fund raisers in town insist that the President "gets it," as shipyard owner Boysie Bollinger says. They have kept up the heat on the White House by hammering home the theme that Katrina didn't doom the city: poor levee construction by the Federal Government did, Still, although Bush repeated his promise to help rebuild New Orleans. he didn't specifically promise levees that could withstand Category 5 storms or help on a bill to buy out flooded homes.

On paper for now, a new New Orleans

is taking shape. Some of its canals would be filled in to serve as parks. The red-light district once known as Storvville would be revived as a jazz center near the French Ouarter. There would be charter schools instead of slum schools, a streamlined city government and, most important, rebuilt levees. But that "audacious" action plan laid out last week by Mayor Ray Nagin's 17-member Bring New Orleans Back Commission has met with a storm of controversy, not just from residents of the poor Ninth Ward but also from wealthier and whiter areas like Lakeview. Homeowners are infuriated by a recommendation to halt rebuilding-indeed, to stop issuing permits-for four months, until May 20, in the worst-hit neighborhoods. Ioe Canizaro, the millionaire developer in charge of the urban-planning effort, believes the delay will prevent a scattershot revival. The argument goes that, with nearly half the city's pre-Katrina population not expected to return, if people rebuild in largely abandoned areas, they couldn't expect much in the way of services from a cash-strapped city.

That angument doesn't cut it with folks like Freddy Yoder, who is determined to rebuild his house with or without government help. "Gimme a break," the Lakeview rebuild his house with or without government being your death growled at the commission's presentation. "We don't need a rail system. We're in the mud. If you can't give us direction, get the hell out of our way." The most troubling aspect for homeowners: the threatened use of eminent domain to clear the most heaving you have been dear the most heaving the grown of the work of the w



ELP WANTED

The flooding is gone, but many neighborhoods in and around New Orleans look as ranged as they did just after the waters receded. Clockwise from top left: a mildewed wheelchair amid the rubble of a nursing home; a damaged house awaiting repair; a refrigerator that still hasn't made it to a Dumpster; a debris-strewn lot for sale; a house that was swept off its foundation and dropped right in the middle of the street.







ISRAEL'S QUIET CRISIS

BY JOEKLEIN/JERUSALEM Nothing much happened | plete support.' I've spoken with him every here in Israel last week, which was something of a surprise to most Israelis, who were expecting big, dramatic, perhaps cataclysmic developments after Prime Minister Ariel Sharon was incapacitated by a massive stroke. Sharon, ever stubborn, lived

on, breathing a little, responding reflexively to pokes and proddings from his physicians-and so there was no state funeral, no national emotional catharsis, no clear transfer of power. But more important, there was no political confusion or panic. Leadership was quietly assumed by Sharon's deputy. Ehud Olmert. "Here we are in the midst of a revolution in Israeli politics," Avi Dichter, former director of Shin Bet, Israel's domestic security agency, told me. "Our great national leader is crippled-and there is no crisis. Power is passed quietly. Our enemies don't stir. Our stock market barely moves. It says a lot for the strength of our democracy."

Olmert's elegant and noiseless assumption of power last week was a singularly un-Israeli sort of act: a dog that didn't bark in a prohibitively raucous canine nation. His public gestures were tasteful, He refused to sit in Sharon's seat at the first Cabinet meeting or use Sharon's office. He gave no interviews, a real departure for a politician who had served as the Prime Minister's talk-radio pit bull. He traded his famously dreadful orange ties for blue and black stripes. He was not seen smoking one of his beloved cigars. He looked very much the leader.

Privately, Olmert, 60, has acted with dispatch to unite Kadima, the centrist party that Sharon created last year. Shimon Peres, the former Labor Prime Minister whose jump to Kadima had given it credibility, made some tiny noises about taking over but soon accepted the reality of his advanced age (he is 82) and anachronistic left-wing politics and fell into line behind Olmert. The other Kadima heavyweights followed. Minister of Justice Tzipi Livni, 47, a rising star with the highest poll ratings of any politician in Israel, immediately announced her support for Olmert, even though the two had been rivals for Sharon's favor. "I called [Olmert] that first night," Livni told me, "and said, 'Listen, we're now going to work together. You have my com-

day since." Olmert apparently told Livni she would become Foreign Minister, as Sharon had promised her, and Deputy Prime Minister in the new Kadima government. One week after Sharon's incapacitation. Olmert had answered the most important question in Israeli public life: Would Kadima fall apart without his leadership? It held together, for the moment, and Olmert has passed his first major political test. But there will be far more difficult tests to come.

"Kadima has filled a vacuum," said Dan Meridor, a prominent former member of the conservative Likud Party who is now drifting toward the new party. "We had two beautiful visions of the future-one from the left and one from the right-and both collapsed." The left-wing Labor Party's vision, of negotiating a two-state settlement with the Palestinians, was rendered irrelevant by the failure of successive 1990s peace negotiations. Meanwhile, the vision of the old Likudniks-of a Greater Israel, stretching from the Mediterranean to the Iordan River-has been rendered just as untenable by the rapid growth of the Arab population in the Palestinian territories, which would eventually make Israel an apartheid state, with a lewish minority ruling over an Arab majority. Sharon and Olmert accepted that reality before most others on the right did. "We cannot have Israel without a Jewish majority," Olmert said in 2004, explaining the rationale for Sharon's disengagement policy in Gaza, which Olmert clearly hoped would be "the



The handover of power has been smooth, but disarray in the Palestinian territories will create new problems for Ariel Sharon's successor

first step," followed by a West Bank withdrawal to the borders marked by the controversial security fence that Israel is now building.

Sharon's policy was arrogant, perversely brilliant. It shattered the old Middle East paradigm, leaping past the old negotiateor-not logiam. It allowed for a Palestinian state, but absent a reliable negotiating partner, Israel would decide what that state would look like. Suddenly Sharon had po-

sitioned himself to the left, and also to the right, of the traditional Israeli parties. "It was a perfect reflection of the country's mood," says David Makovsky of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "After 40 years of occupying the territories, people are sick and fired of it. They don't want to have anything to do with Palestinians. They were going to give Sharon a big victory in the [March 28] elections. If he plays his cards right, Olmert

may win a smaller but still significant victory, too, because unilateral disengagement is what the public wants."

But Olmert doesn't hold all the cards. The Palestinians, as ever, have the ability to influence the Israeli election through the use of violence—and through their own elections, scheduled for Jan. 25, which may increase the power of the radical Islamist group Harnas. Lidud, led by the unloved but undeterred Benjamin Netanyahu, 56, has been the beneficiary of Palestinian mayhem in the past. In 1996, for example, Netanyahu overtook Shimon Peres in the race for Prime Minister after a series of terrorist acts by Hamas. "Bibi rises and falls with Hamas." Makovsky said.

And Hamas clearly seems to be rising. The conventional wisdom is that Hamas will finish a strong second to Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas' ruling Fatah party in the election. But Fatah seems in complete disarray unhinned by corruption

and incompetence. Its factions appear to be literally at war with one another. "It's Somalia in Gaza." a prominent Palestinian security official told TIME's Jamil Hamad. "There's a different government on every street corner." The official says he sent Abbas a memo last week begging him to call off the elections for fear of violence so severe that "there will be no wounded people his time, only dead people." Palestinian sources also told TIME.



Already Likudniks are saying diseggement in Gaza has caused the chaos and will weaken Ismel's security. "We hear reports of an al-Qaeda presence in Gaza now and about high-powered explosives being smuggled in through Egypt," a leading Likud security expert told me. "The question is, How would Sharon have re-

acted to the deteriorating situation? Would he have moved on and disengaged from the West Bank? I think there is a discussion to be had about what Sharon's real legacy should be."

Olmert will have some disadvantages in that discussion. He served in the army, but not prominently. He has never held a major security portfolio. He will be under pressure to reveal Kadima's plans for disengagement on the West Bank. "But he's not going to put out a map during an election campaign," a member of Olmert's Cabinet told me. "That would be crazy, given the uncertainty on the other side." Indeed. Avi Dichter-who will probably be a leading security spokesman for Kadimasounded very much like a Likudnik when discussing future plans, "Israel is not going to try any experiments in the West Bank to let it become another Gaza," he said. "If the Palestinian Authority doesn't build an adequate counterterrorist capability, we are going to stay in the West Bank for a long time."

There is another, more personal challenge facing Olmert. He and Netanyahu, along with Dan Meridor and Benjamin Begin, were once called the four princes of Likud-and of them, Olmert was regarded as the least likely to succeed, a smart inside operator but a politician, not a statesman. He will have to perform in the spotlight now, and inside players tend to wilt when shoved onto center stage. Netanyahu has become Israel's Richard Nixon-his negatives are stratospheric, but he is a tough competitor, a plausible Prime Minister. Olmert will have another opponent as well: the memory of Ariel Sharon. Olmert won a quiet battle last week, establishing post-Sharon Kadima as a major force in Israeli politics. But Olmert still must prove that he can make his voice heard when all the usual dogs start howling again.

CONTESTED LAND: The rise of Hamas may



Slamming Its Doors

As Iran confronts the West over nukes, its leaders are patrolling the Web to silence critics at home

By AZADEH MOAVENI TEHRAN

S THE EDITOR OF THE IRANIAN Feminist Tribune, a website devoted to women's issues. Parvin Ardalan used to sit at her home computer each night, posting news articles on the site that the country's print press would never carry. She spread the word about sit-ins and seminars. At its busiest, the site attracted 70,000 visitors a day. But late last year, Ardalan received a text message from a friend informing her that the site had disappeared. Along with thousands of other websites-including opposition blogs like regimechange.blogspot.com and online retailers like Bloomingdales.comthe Feminist Tribune was blocked as part of a censorship campaign by Iran's new hardline government but is still accessible outside Iran. "We lost one of our greatest tools," Ardalan says, "It's hindered our work, which I suppose was the goal."

For Western governments as much as for activists like Ardalan, the aims of the Iranian regime grow more alarming every day. Led by President Mah-

moud Ahmadinejad, Iran's elected government—whose powers are circumscribed by the country's ruling ayatullahs—has made confronta-

tion the guiding tenet of its policies at home and in the world. The regime made its most provocative move yet last week, resuming work on its unanium-enrichment program, which the U.S. and some of its allies believe is a critical step toward the eventual production of nuclear weapons. The resumption touched off a flurry of international condemnation and raised the likelihood that fran will be referred to the U.N. Security Council. U.S. Secretary of State Condolecza Rice declared that by resuming enrichment activities, Iran has "shattered the basis for negotiation."

What happens next is still up in the air.



We lost one of our greatest tools. It's hindered

The Bush Administration is pushing what no official calls "very carefully calibrated, incremental approach." The first step would be a Security Council statement urging Iran to comply fully with inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency. If the International Atomic Energy Agency If the International Fannacions against Tehran, such as restricting the regime's access to such transitional formacial channels and squeezing its ability to trade and travel. But getting agreement on the nature of sanctions—and



on the World



avoiding a veto by Russia or China, which both have deep economic interests in Iran could take months.

To many Iranians, Ahmadineiad's strategy of confrontation and refusal to compromise reflects the regime's unease as much as its pugnacity. At home, the new administration has sought to roll back the former President Mohammed Khatami and is imposing Islamic strictures and cracking down on even nonpolitical forms of expression, like women smoking in cafés and satellite TV. Some Iranians believe that the country's rulers fear further engagement with the West will embolden young people to demand greater freedoms, which may fatally undermine the regime's authority, "They feel danger, and their strategy of dealing with it is by attacking rather than cooperating," says a former senior reformist official.

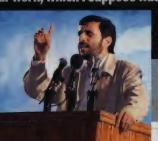
The government's aggressive policing of the Internet reflects how decisively Ahmadinejad has stemmed momentum toward democratic reform. Hard-liners in Iran's judiciary first sought to seal off the Internet in 2004 by arresting Web technicians and bloggers. Since 2004, authorities have rounded up at least 20 writers for posting subversive material online, handing them jail terms ranging from a few days to 14 years. Last June, following Ahmadine-

jad's surprise election, the government launched a fresh onslaught, this time against the websites and blogs themselves. Using keyword filters and eensorship software pirated from U.S. firms, the government blocked thousands of websites containing news, political content and satire. It even blocked the United Nations Development Pund for Women (UNIPEM). The crude filters make it impossible to look up suggestive words such as uomen, so a Google search on uomen's pregnancy produces an ACCESS DENIED Screen. "The ent result is a marginalization of women and women's issues," says activist Sussan Tahuwasahi Status and Status

Activist webmasters and bloggers are trying to navigate around the filters. Many have changed their domain names to get themselves back online for a few days until the censors catch up. Women in Iran, an assertive website carrying news and reports about women's issues, switched from .com to a .org address after being blocked. was filtered again and is now accessible as .net. Activists in Iran now hoard backup domain names, although they have recently hit an unexpected wall: Iranian Web developers say that U.S. domain providers have stopped selling addresses to Iranian Web clients, claiming the sales contravene U.S. economic sanctions against Iran. As a result, some activists are investigating the possibility of running their sites through satellite services, which may allow them to evade the government's reach. Hossein Derakhshan, a prominent Iranian exile blogger who offers a quirky, Jon Stewartlike brew of political commentary, has watched Iranian visitors to his blog plummet from a high of about 8,000 hits a day to a low of about 1.500 a day. He sends out his daily content by e-mail, which for now remains free and, he hopes, secure,

Ahmadineiad's policies have started to cause splits within the country's ruling élite. He faces pressure to moderate his policies from some conservative rivals who are uncomfortable with his more incendiary statements, such as calling for Israel to be "wiped off the map" and openly rooting for the death of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. But so far, even those critics are having difficulty being heard. Last October some prominent conservatives openly bared their criticism of Ahmadineiad on the news website Baztab, which belongs to Mohsen Rezai, the former commander of the Revolutionary Guards. The government promptly took the site down. -With reporting by Elaine Shannon/Washington

our work, which I suppose was the goal."



PARVIN ARDALAN
The women's activist
shows the home page
of the Feminist Tribune,
a website blocked by
government censors

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD Iran's President delivers a speech in southern Iran last week, flanked by a portrait of his political ido Ayatullah Khomeini



LETTER FROM CANADA

Steven Frank/Toronto

Who Are You Calling A Bush Lover?

A conservative is poised to lead liberal Canada. How did he get this far?

TV AD BEGINS WITH A blurred image set to an ominous drumbeat. suggesting that this may be the start of a documentary about, say, serial killers. Slowly the gravness on the screen reveals an unflattering picture of ... Stephen Harper, the leader of the Conservative Party of Canada. "Who paid for Stephen Harper's rise to the head of the party?" a female voice asks. "We do know he's very popular with rightwingers in the U.S. They have money. Maybe they helped?"

There have been times in habitually left-leaning Canada when the suggestion that a politician took money from U.S. conservatives would have been enough to seal victory for the other guy. So when strategists for the ruling Liberal Party unveiled 12 schlock-horror ads last week. three of which linked Harper to "right-wingers in the U.S." (read: the Bush Administration), they may have thought they had pulled off a political masterstroke. Never mind that the charges are at best misleading. This is election time in Canada, and truth gets as much respect as a mouse cornered by a hungry cat.

Even Prime Minister Paul Martin descended into the muck last week, all but branding his opponent an alien from outer space, or at least Texas. "The farthest of the U.S. far right—that's what [he] means when he says it's time for a change in Canada," Martin told supporters in Toronto. "Well, let me tell you something... That's not the kind of change that Canadians want. America is our neighbor. It is not our nation."

But Canada may not be used to be. Polls indicate that despite the anti-U.S. attacks, Conservatives are likely to be the big winners in the Jan. 23 federal vote. That would make Harper, 46, Canada's first Conservative Prime Minister since 1993.

The Liberals have only themselves to blame for losing the upper hand. For the past two years, they have been dogged by revelations that a federal program was manipulated to create a Liberal-friendly slush fund and kiekback scheme in the province of Quebec. A Nov. 1 report by a national commission exonerated Prime Minister Martin, but the scandal has left a lingering stench. "I'm tired of being screwed by the Liberals," says Gerry Gagné, 47, a lifelong

Liberal supporter from Low, Que., in a now common refrain.

During the last federal election, in June 2004, the Liberals successfully painted the Toronto-born Harper as a far-right ideologue out to shred Canada's social fabric. Harper never effectively fought back. But he has since repositioned himself. While he originally supported the Iraq war and promotes such traditional Tory issues as tax cuts and a tougher stance on crime, he is also pushing such centrist initiatives as tax credits for people who buy mass-transit passes. Harper has vowed to revisit the issue of same-sex marriage, which is now legal in Canada, by putting it to a vote in Parliament, but he has promised not to touch abortion rights. And he has worked hard to recast his cold and humorless image, though he admitted during a televised debate last week that "my strengths are not spin or passion." Harper's shrewdest move

has been to distance himself from the U.S. After a Dec. 2 Op-Ed piece in the Washington Times said Harper's election would "put a smile on President George W. Bush's face." Harper wrote a letter to the editor pointing out the differences between his policies and those of the Bush Administration. And when the Liberals released the TV spots playing up Harper's supposed love affair with U.S. conservatives, the Tories returned fire, issuing a press release that chided their opponents for resorting to "American-style" campaign tactics. Canada's conservatives have learned how to dance to their own drumbeat. - With reporting by Huguette Young/Low

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When compared on a mg/m² basis or in mice given up to 200 mg/m² dy (18 times the MRHD) when compared on a mg/m² basis or in mice given up to 200 mg/m² dy (18 times the MRHD on a mg/m² basis), carvedilol had no carcinogenic effect. hypropools dail resists of classopientify. At codes 2-counting spays year, and was associated with a reduced per dam, and complete seasonance of 18% of the lates. The no-observed effect doze had for overt baseing and impairment of ferrity was 60 mg/spay (10 times the NRM) as mg/m1. Prespancy: Treatingsing: Chercite. potential risk to the fetus. **Nursing Mothers:** It is not known whether this drug is accreted in human mit. Studies in rats have shown that carvedlol and/or its metabolites (as well as other B-blockers) B-blocking agents have included perinatal and neonatal distress. Pediatric Use: Safety and efficacy in patients, on per than Preservings have not been usual instead Geriatric Use; If the PER patients with conceptive heart failure randomized to COREG in US clinical trials, 31% (235) were 65 years of ace rates, who were treated with LIRES 21th, 436 were 65 years of age or little 3f 3722 cuttents receiving COREG in hypertension clinical trials conducted worldwide, 24% were 65 years of age or prescribing information) were observed between the older subjects and younger subjects in each of

ADVERSE REACTIONS: COREC has been evaluated for safety in gatents with congestive heart failure indictions and severe heart failure in patients with their varietizate soft-softwarten following improximate inferction and in hypotrestive patients. The observed adverse event profile was consistent with the pharmacology of the drug and the health status of the patients in the climical trials. Adverse events reported for each of these patients populations are provided below. Excluded are adverse events reported for each of these patients populations are provided below. Excluded are adverse events exceeded to be inclimated, and those not reasonably associated with the use of the long that is a second or an exceeding the profile of the pr

considered too general to be informative, and those not reasonably associated with the ust of the drug because they were associated with the condition being treated or are very common in the treated population. Retes of adverse events were generally similar across demographic subsists (men and women, elderin and non-elderin, blacks and non-blacks). Consective Heart Failure: CORES has been

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Table 1 shows adverse events reported in patients with mild-to-moderate heart failure enrolled in LDS. Capacitates controlled clinical trads, and when heart failure enrolled in the CDFRHIGIS trad Chows are adverse events that occurred more frequently in drug healted patients than placebo smalled between the experiment of the controlled trads and the controlled trads the controlled trads and controlled trads and the controlled trads and t

Table 1. Adverse Events (% Occurrence) Occurring More Frequently with COREG Then With Placebo in Patients With Mild-to-Moderate Heart Failure Enrolled in US Heart Failure Trials or in Patients With Severe Heart Failure in the COPERNICUS Trial (Incidence >3% in Patients Treated with Carvedilol, Regardless of Causality)

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Table 2. Adverse Events in US Placebo-Controlled Hypertension Trials Incidence ≥1%, Regardless of Causality*

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*Shown are events with rate >1% rounded to nearest integer

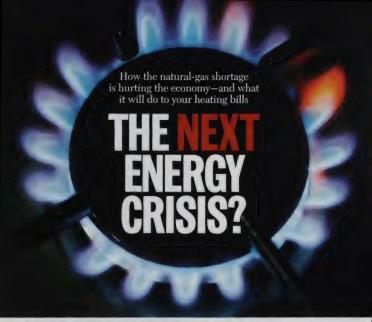
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The GlaxoSmithKline Group of Companies All rights reserved



By DAREN FONDA

OB HORTON HAS SURVIVED THE arrival of Home Depot and more economic downturns than he can remember. Yet this winter may be the last for his 40-year-old plumbing and heating supply shop in Osceola, Iowa, just south of Des Moines. The heating bill at his business soared to \$602 last month, up from \$250 a year earlier. He can't raise prices without losing customers, and he has tried everything to save energy, from installing insulation to heating with a highefficiency furnace. "It's going to break us," he says of his fuel bills. "We can't pay the overhead."

This winter has been no colder than most, but it's leaving businessmen like Horton and homeowners across the country with a severe chill when they open their heating bills. The 62 million households that burn natural gas will spend 35% more this winter, according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, with Northeasterners expected to pick up a record \$1,276 average tab for the season. In the past five years, gasburning homes have seen prices more than double. Those who rely on propane or oil for heat haven't fared a lot better. But the big crunch is in gas. Here's a guide to how that's hitting consumers and businesses, who's profiting and what you can do:

why is my GAS BILL SO HIGH? Natural gas used to be consumed mainly by firms making chemicals and other industrial goods. But in recent decades, electric companies, under pressure to pollute less, have em-

braced natural gas, which burns cleaner than coal or oil. Gas consumption by electric utilities has soared 76% since 1989. But unlike oil, easily transported and traded on global markets, gas poses logistical problems. It can't be shipped unless it's cooled and liquefied. For now, 85% of the gas we use is produced domestically. The rest arrives by pipeline from Canada, except for about 1% imported from such countries as Trinidad and Nigeria by tankers carrying liquefied natural gas (LNG). That equation is shifting. Production in the U.S. has slipped, down an estimated 5% in 2005, largely but not entirely because of storm damage to facilities in the Gulf. Meanwhile, Canada is consuming more of the gas it produces, leaving less to export. In short, we aren't getting enough gas to meet demand-a combustible formula for high prices.

WHAT'S THE IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY? High energy costs will shave up to half a point off GDP growth in 2006, predicts Stephen Brown, an economist with the Dallas Federal Reserve Bank-"a drag on the economy," he says, but not enough of one to tip us into recession. Still, slower growth means there will be pockets of pain. In Iowa, applications to the state's energyassistance program are up 8%. Public schools, hit with high heating bills, are turning down the thermostat and spending less on field trips. David Callis, who grows corn, soybeans and wheat in Missouri, has seen the price of fertilizer, which is made in part from gas, rise 50%. Consumers, meanwhile, are paying more for items like paint and plastic containers. Sherwin-Williams recently raised the average price of a gallon of paint from \$22 to \$26. One beneficiary: makers of home insulation, whose business is thriving.

For some companies, the run-up in fuel prices is one more reason to ship jobs

cost difference," he says. "Now we're starting to lose jobs in energy-intensive sectors."

WHY DON'T GAS COMPANIES DRILL MORE WELLS? Oil and gas companies are flush with profits, so they could afford it. Exxon Mobil alone earned nearly \$10 billion in the third quarter, a record for any U.S. firm. But companies seem more inclined to buy one another's assets and invest in proven reserves than go hunting for new sources. ConocoPhillips recently bid \$35.6 billion for Burlington Resources, one of the world's largest natural-gas producers. In the contiguous 48 states, easily accessible fields are running full tilt. "We've had great success finding new reserves, but these are unconventional sources-low-permeability gas sands, shale gas, coal-bed methane," says Peter Dea, CEO of Western Gas Resources, a Denver-based gas producer. Longer term, more supplies are on the way. The U.S. Interior Department last week opened for exploration 389,000 acres of pean countries grew keenly interested after Russia and Ukraine got into a nasty spat over gas supplies a few weeks ago, roiling world gas markets. But there are tall hurdles. The U.S. has just five LNG receiving terminals, and while regulators in the U.S., Canada and Mexico have approved 15 more, the projects are hardly assured. Australian firm BHP Billiton, for one, wants to construct an offshore regasification plant the size of three football fields off the coast of Oxnard, Calif., but opposition is mounting. Activists raise concerns about pollution and potential harm to wildlife from such a large industrial operation. A spokeswoman for BHP says the LNG industry has never had a major spill (although an explosion occurred at an LNG production plant in Algeria in 2004).

WHAT CAN I DO? Energy experts say we could ease out of our gas crunch with realistic conservation efforts. Groups like the American Council for an Energy-



where 100,000 jobs have vanished since 2000, companies are building plants overseas, where natural gas goes for a small fraction of the price it commands in the U.S. Dow Chemical is constructing a \$4 billion petrochemical plant in Oman, and cco Andrew Liveris asys the plant would have been built in Freeport, Texas, if not for the price difference. At PPG Industries in Pittsburgh, Pa., cso Charles Bunch says he may have to close two North Carolina fiber-glass plants. "We've lost a lot of jobs to China because of the labor-

offshore. In the U.S. chemical industry,

Alaskan tundra and shoreline, which officials estimate may contain 3.5 trillion ou. ft. of natural gas. Yet that's a pittance compared with the 22.3 trillion cu. ft. that the U.S. consumed in 2004. And two projects to transport gas from Alaska's North Slope and Canadian territories are in the works. One proposal entails building a \$20 billion pipeline to Chicago, but that would take 10 years to complete.

WHAT ABOUT IMPORTING MORE LIQUEFIED NATURAL GAS? Energy companies would love to ramp up the trade in LNG, and EuroEfficient Economy say we could cut natural-gas prices 20% in the next five years if the U.S. would. for instance, mandate efficiency targets for power plants and offer more financial incentives for renewable fuels like wind and solar. Even some industrial bosses are calling for more conservation to keep the economy humming. Says Liveris "It's a shame the U.S. han't put in place these policies." As Americans are discovering, it's also costly.—With reporting by Eric Ferkenhoff(Dickage, Wendy Grossman Houston, Matt Nettmann/Santa Barbara and Betty Rubiner/Des Moines



REBEL ON THE EDGE

BODE MILLER, SKIING'S WILD CHILD, IS WILLFUL, THOUGHTFUL AND THE MOST EXCITING SHOW ON SNOW BY BILL SAPORITO

S EUROPE, WHERE HE IS ACELEMENT, BOOM MILLER INstood at the top of sladon runs and listened to 50,000
Austrains chanting "Bo-de, Bo-de." They know that his
eccentric skings syle—but back, feet forward, hands
flying—and utter disregard for actually finishing a race,
never mind winning it, will often produce compelling
sport. In the combined downhall in the 2002 Salt Lake
City Olympies. Miller was a nanosecond from disaster when
he made what might have been the greatest 60 m.p.h.
recovery in the history of sking to claim a silver medal. He
either lands on the podium or on his posterior.

He is the world's best ski acee, but whatever the result,

He is the world's best ski racer, but whatever the result, he laughs it off and maybe has a beer afterward. Or two. In a world where winners get endorsements and losers work for the ski patrol, Miller actually believes in that old Olympic can and that it's playing the game that counts. 'Despite all the



pressure and the caliber of accomplishment, I still can honestly say it is not all about winning," he told TIME during pre-Olympic training at Colorado's Copper Mountain. The important thing to him is to try to ski well—to improve, to reach his own goals—and most important, to have a good time

Last week it was his mouth that went off course-blew out of its bindings-after Miller admitted on 60 Minutes to skiing a race hung over. He was "wasted," as he put title the day before. In its promos for the show, CBS said he skied drunk, which Miller denies. But he has never been the least bit shy about his après-ski technique. "There's been times I've been in really tough shape at the top of the course," he told 60 Minutes. The statement was typical of Miller's quirky, uncensored self, but it quickly snowballed into a crisis. With controversies about sexual harassment, citizenship and team selection already dogging Olympic athletes in skeleton and figure skating, U.S. Ski and Snowboard Association (USSA) officials hurried to Miller's next race venue in Wengen, Switzerland, reprimand in hand. In apology, Miller said, "The message that came through is not what I'm about in any way in my sporting career."

Say hello to sking's wild child, a mountain prodigy who grew up plumbing-free, electricity-free and constraint-free in a house hand-built by his parents in a forest near Franconia, N. H. As a lod, Miller spent as many winter hours sking at nearby Cannon Mountain as he did in the classroom, in his teens, he was all but dismissed as being uncouchable. But, last year his World Cup triumph was the first by an American in 22 years. His prowers is such that he could win a medal in any of five Alpine sking events at the Olympic Games in Torino, Italy, which begin Feb. 10. Most racers competed in two, at most.

Miller is also sking's mad scientist. There couldn't possibly be anyone who has thought more about what it takes to win a aid race. He has contemplated every aspect of the sport, whether it's boot design, the way your nerves should fire during a turn or even how the World Cup tour should operate. "I simply think things through, and I look at problems," he told TIME: "One thing I pride myself on it she ability to connect unconnected thoughts and come up with new, unique thoughts."

For U.S. ski-team officials who have been the receivers of those thoughts, the 60 Minutes flasco may have been a long-





awaited opportunity to whack the puppy with the paper. "Talented people are a challenge, and what makes some people great is that they require a lot," says Bill Marolt, president of the USSA, (Translation: This guy drives me batty.) "Hopefully this has created something positive, not just with Bode but with the whole team." For years Miller has challenged USSA brass about coaching, training and conditioning methods, equipment and what he considers insufficient support for his ideas. "They Yet he is serious in his purpose. The coaches, he says, "are forcing athletes to train poorly for the sport. And I find that irritating. Head U.S. men's coach Phil McNichol says Miller has been given plenty of attention, "but he pushes all the boundaries. That's part of his personality. He's about pushing buttons and pushing boundaries."

It's more irritating this year because U.S. coaches think they can top the long-dominant Austrians in Torino. The USSA motto-Best in the World-may sound immodest.

but the team heading to Italy may well be the most talented group of skiers the U.S. has ever assembled. Miller's teammate Daron Rahlves, in fact, was sensational in winning the Lauberhord downhill at Wengen. John McBride, the men's speed coach and a Miller confidant, acknowledges that the dustup "had been a team issue." But it's not, he adds. "like Bode's turned into a bad gwa."

He isn't. On the World Cup circuit



Miller is rock-star popular and travels like one. Rather than stay in hotels, he does the Alpine tour in a recreational vehicle driven by his boy-

hood friend Jake Sereno. His uncle, Mike Kenney, a former ski racer, acts as his personal adviser. From Camp Bode, he patrols the Internet (where he met his girlfriend Karen Shern), writes an online journal for the Denver Post. conducts a radio show for Sirius and hangs out, often with the press and his fans camped outside. "For me, he's all the best things about America: a bit of a showman, sure, but also firendly and like-

PROFILES

OTHER REBELS WITH THEIR OWN CAUSES

He's Fire on Ice—and Off It

hani Davis has always set his own course. While most boys in his South Side Chicago neighborhood were trying to shoot hoops like Michael Jordan, Davis was lacing on skates and speeding around an ice mik. His buddies teased him for dedicating himself to a sport that seemed so white. "A lot of kids made fun of [speed skating] because it wasn't a thing you could do to get rich," says Davis.

Speed skating is still largely a white sport, and he has yet to get rich from it, but Davis, 23, the first African American to qualify for a U.S. Olympic speed-skating team, is now a gold-medal favorite for the 1,000-m and 1,500-m races at the Games in Torino. He's also one of the sport's most controversial fligures, feuding openly with its governing body, U.S. Speedskating.

The dispute centers on the federation's decision to reduce its funding for Davis' training because he wears on his uniform the logo of Netherlands-based bank DSB, which is not an official U.S. speed-skating has lots of potential to be a hig sport," says Davis—who although he is relatively unknown in the U.S., has a broader following in Europe,



where the sport is popular. The U.S. Speedskating officials, he complains, "don't want to grow in a way where they have five or six. Shani Davises." The organization's officials say they are disappointed with the comments but will support

Davis at the Olympics. Davis first went on the ice when he was 6. His mother Cherie worked as a secretary for a lawyer who happened to be a speed-skating official and suggested that her son try the sport. Within two years, Davis was winning regional titles. Now 6 ft. 2 in., he propels himself with long, powerful strides to the forefront of the long-track events, in which two skaters race next to each other but against the clock. This winter, defying speed-skating convention, Davis tried to become the first skater to compete in both long-track and the more roller-derby-like short-track events at the same Olympics. but he fell just short of making the short-track team.

The standoff between Davis and the skating establishment widened a bit in December when the skater, who had already qualified for the long-track events, skipped those trials, even after officials had rescheduled them to accommodate his short-track attempt. But there is an upside to the ongoing feud. "If people make him angy," says Davis' mom, "he has a tendency to really perform well."

able, without that grim way that some of the European athletes have," says Biorn Frick, a fan from Bern. As for the partying, "that's nonsense. If he drinks, he's hardly the first ski racer to do it." Says Miller's fellow racer Marco Büchel, of Liechtenstein: "The World Cup wouldn't be what it is without Bode. We couldn't do without him.'

Ski racers-voung, fit and famous-are not exactly strangers in the nightclubs at resorts across Europe and the Rockies. There's a reason the ski circuit is called the "white circus." Italian ski legend Alberto Tomba (La Bomba) kept the tabloids busy with his evening exploits. "If any of the sponsors didn't know what they were in for, that this is a part of the package, shame on them," says a Nike rep. According to Miller's agent, Miller just inked the biggest deal ever for a skier, with equipment maker Atomic. He also enthe income from which provided enough | ety of hardscrabble jobs. His mother Jo money for him to buy a 600-acre farm in New Hampshire. To the Swoosh folks, who love edgy marketing and freethinking athletes, a jock with a party rep doesn't amount to a problem. In December, Nike launched a website for Miller carrying the tagline "Join Bode" that features the skier offering his philosophy on everything from mental training to retirement.

It's not that Miller, 28, was groomed for leading a movement. As a kid, he spent lots of time by himself, wandering the woods near his home. He didn't watch television because there wasn't one. which is generally coincident with not having electricity. That lifestyle was a choice made by his parents. His father Woody, a med-school dropout with no thirst for the professional life, found happiness working in the outdoors at a variworked at her father's sports camp. Miller has two sisters and one brother.

The Millers home schooled their children some years and sent them to the local school others. They lived so far off the beaten path that Bode had to trek through the dark woods to the bus stop. The many hours alone, he says, taught him to think. His parents were laid back, willing to let their children follow their own instincts. That led young Bode to the slopes of Cannon Mountain, an inclination that was no doubt heightened by his parents' splitalthough each of them lives in senarate quarters at the family compound.

Miller's prowess as a skier and his reputation as a hard nut were already known in the area when he was offered a spot in Carrabassett Valley Academy, a prep school in Maine for ski racers. But coaches there



Mavericks On Board

uring a training session at Colorado's Snowmass Mountain, near Aspen last week, a group of élite snowboarders who call themselves the Collection swooshed, spun and flipped over a curved channel, or half-pipe, changing the way their sport is played. It's more than rare talent

alone that separates the

include teen phenoms Mason Aguirre, 18, and Luke Mitrani, 15: 2002 Olympic gold medalists Ross Powers, 26, and Kelly Clark, 22: 2005 X-Games silver medalist Andy Finch, 24; and Gretchen Bleiler, 24, who is expected to take the women's half-pipe gold in Torino-from the rest of the snowboarding world. The group, formed in 2004, is the first rider-controlled team in the sport, operating outside the U.S. Ski and Snowboard Association (USSA), which oversees the U.S. national team.

Collection-whose members

The Collection picks its own coach, chooses where to compete and, most important, collects its own sponsorship dollars. Under USSA guidelines, team sponsorship money is shared with the skiers, a sore point for the boarders, "It seems like no matter how hard the snowboarders work, the money goes to the skiing side of things," says Powers, who conceived the collective concept. "The Collection gives us the freedom to pick and choose what we want to do, and the money keeps going back into the team."

BY SEAN GREGORY

The arrangement has worked, at least financially. Before the start of this season and last. Snickers. drawn to the young audience that snowboarding attracts, signed a handsome contract with the Collection. Nickelodeon and Yamaha have also inked deals with the maverick boarders.

Now the Collection is hoping to show that an independent team can shine in the Olympics. Powers is in solid position to defend his gold, and strong performances by Clark and Finch at the last Olympic qualifiers, Jan. 20-21, could earn them a Torino trip too. Aguirre is a near lock for the team.

But it is Bleiler, who tests limits both on and off the pipe, who appears most ready for breakout

stardom. Clad in a painted-on bikini, she posed for a racy FHM cover before the 2004 X-Games. "It definitely crosses the line of my comfort zone," she says. "I pushed myself." She plans to push at the Olympics too. On her program is the Michaelchuck, a backflip trick that no woman has ever landed in competition. Bleiler credits her Collection teammates for some of her success. "We're definitely having to bushwhack our way through this whole thing, but it's exciting," she says. "It's kind of really coming together."

-With reporting by Rita Healy/Aspen



couldn't tame him. They kept trying to alter his so-called back-seat style, and he resisted fiercely. If you want to ski on your ass, they finally told him, become a snow-boarder. In his book, Bode: Go Fast, Be Good, Haue Fun, he claims that another local coach even sabotaged his chance for the junior Olympic team. Then, when he was 19, a still unknown Millerskied his way onto the national team.

Experiences like those made him an iconoclast. He learned to appreciate the process of racing, not necessarily the result. And he learned to coach himself, because no one else could. You can hear the resentment in his voice today: "We should tell our kids to just have fun, participate and not get bent on winning or losing. But every coach, when they say that, they say if tongue in cheek, 'Don't worry about winning: If you win I'll get you ice cream, but if you lose I'm som to too ut in the car."

At one point in his career, Miller's slalom-racing results could be summed up in three letters. DNF, as in did not finish. He seemed determined to either win or crash. But not from recklessness. He was in the process of changing his tactics. Simply trying to go faster wasn't working: correcting errors was harder, equipment didn't work as well. Instead, he figured that the quickest route down the mountain was the shortest route between gates. And that required deep analysis. "I needed to learn how to change directions and generate force that was different from other guys," he says. "I had to think about ankle torsion, where the screws are on the ski. how that affects the forces going into the ski and how the ski bends, your leverage points." He did not have to win. "It was a challenge. I was having the greatest time, making the mistakes, crashing. I didn't love racing to beat other guys. I loved it because it allowed me to do that exploring."

Similarly, Miller has his own ideas about training that have clashed with his coaches. The USSA, like most sports federations, uses standard testing to evaluate athletes. That, says Miller, causes athletes to train for the test, not the sport. He be-

"I WAS HAVING THE GREATEST TIME, MAKING MISTAKES. I DIDN'T LOVE RACING TO BEAT OTHER GUYS."

lieves that ski racing, requires a different approach to fitness. "My team has been very unreceptive about the fact that I consistently show them that I train slightly differently than they do, that I consistently show them that I am in better shape for ski racing than anyone else on the team," he points out. And why wouldn't he know better than they what will work for him? "I didn't feel anyone is more equipped to analyze that than I was," he says. "I've been myself my whole life."

Last year, after tinkering with his boots, he discovered that inserting a composite—as opposed to aluminum or plastic—lift under the sole gave him a better feel on the snow and better performance. Then he did something really crazy: he shared the information with everyone, including competitors. His equipment team flipped, but in the Miller school of philosophy this makes complete sense. Otherwise, he says, "I'm maintaining an unfair advantage over my competitors knowingly, for the purpose of beating them alone. Not for the purpose of enjoying it more or sking better." To me that's ethically unsound."

His approach clearly works. He has won two Olympic medals, four world championship golds and 19 World Cup wents. In a sport in which athlets tend to specialize in either the speed events (down-hill, super-G) or technical events (dallorm, giant slalorn), Miller does it all. In the first race after his apology, Miller smoked the slalom part of the duy's super-combined event (downhill and slalorn), putting him more than a second ahead of the field. It's an astonishing feat, given that most racers are separated by hundredths of seconds. He was, however, disqualified on a technicality, despite a U.S. protest.

Another losing day? Not necessarily. He had accomplished something, proving again that his willpower, his think-first, ski-better approach, had prevailed. That must have made him happy. And he probably had a beer afterward. That probably made him happy too.—With reporting by James Graft and Helen Scatt Smith Weense.

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BALDING, WRINK

The '60s are gone, but for some baby boomers, the drugs aren't. A guide to the cost of a 40-year high

By JEFFREY KLUGER with JEFFREY RESSNER

EW PEOPLE KNOW THE PEBLIS OF drug abuse better than a 55-yearold former schoolteacher whose job it used to be to teach that very topic—which is why it's particularly ironic that she's a cocaine addict to day. More than 30 years ago, Gwen—who prefers to keep it to one name when discussing her addiction—spent her days teaching in the Virginia school system and drafting the schools' drug-and-alcoholabuse curriculum. She spent her nights researching the subject firsthand.

"I started using alcohol and pot in college," she says. Then I turned to sniffing cocaine and freebasing. By the time I began teaching, I was spending big-time money. My body knew that I got out of school at 3:30 every day, and then I d have to go out and get my drugs."

Today Gwen spends most of her time far from Virginia, living in New York City and attending regular sobriety meetings in the Odyssey House ElderCare treatment program in East Harlem. It's not how she envisioned her retirement. "I never thought the drug-abuse classes I taught applied to me," she says. "But here I am."

She's hardly alone. Of the more than 75 million haby boomers who came of age in the 1960s and 70s, millions experimented with drugs during their impressionable teenage years, and millions went on to enter middle age—and are now headed into their entior years—with deedeel-song addictions. Hard numbers are not easy to come by, but older addicts are clearly a growth sector in the drug-recovery industry. There are an estimated 1.7 million Americans over age 50 addicted to drugs, according to the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SMHSs), a division of the



LED AND STONED

Department of Health and Human Services. By 2020 SAMHSA expects the number to reach 4.4 million. Already an ongoing federal study has found that the number of older Americans seeking help for heroin or cocaine abuse roughly quadrupled from 1992 to 2002. Odyssev House, which was founded to treat younger addicts, now has a separate division, with both inpatient and outpatient facilities, to deal specifically with older users.

What makes the problem especially hard for seniors is that the wages of drug abuse are cumulative. A lifetime of recreational chemistry also means a lifetime of neglect of overall health-as a recent morning meeting at Odyssev House illustrated. There were too many canes in evidence for a group so comparatively young-the legacy of joints wrecked by years of undertreated diabetes-and too many bad hearts and bum livers and vascular systems fighting hypertension, "This is the first generation to have a high incidence of using recreational drugs," says SAMHSA epidemiologist Ioseph Cfroerer, "All this puts them at risk for problems."

But why did those baby boomers stay aboard the drug carousel when so many millions more climbed off? And what exactly have 40 years of experimental pharmacology done to them? It would not have been possiblemuch less ethical-to recruit subjects when the 1960s drug circus got started, send them off for four decades of substance abuse and bring them back for study. But now that the ad hoc longitudinal experiment those aging boomers have been conducting on themselves is reaching its endgame, addiction experts are pouncing on what the doctors and psychiatrists treating the abusers are learning. What they uncover may help not only the surviving victims of the early drug vears but vounger users as well.

Of all the drugs the boomers have used. perhaps the four most notorious have been marijuana, hallucinogens, cocaine and heroin. Researchers have devoted enormous effort to studying those drugs' long-term effects.

The results have been decidedly mixed. MARIJUANA The so-called demon weed turned out to be a lot less devilish than advertised. The popular image of the

> There are too many canes in use for people in their 50s and 60s, too many bad hearts and burn livers

goofy, smoky slacker notwithstanding, a 2003 study in the Journal of the International Neuropsychological Society found that even among regular users, there is no proof that pot causes irreversible cognitive damage. Memory does get cloudy, and learning new information does get harder, but those effects fade if the user does kick the habit. The drug may also diminish libido and fertility. (So much for its promised free-love properties.) And as with any intoxicating chemical, pot use can become chronic and compulsive, crowding out room for much else. "If you came to our adolescent program and saw the 16-year-old kids whose lives have become unmanageable as a result of pot use, you'd understand it's addictive," says psychologist Peter Provet, president of Odyssey House. "But a lot of

people who use pot don't become addicts." Scientists haven't settled on whether repeated chestfuls of unfiltered marijuana smoke increase the risk of pulmonary disease and cancers of the mouth, throat and lungs. Although a recent study out of UCLA says no, practitioners in the field disagree. "There's certainly strong if not definitive evidence that long-term smokers take in a lot of particulates and carcinogens," says Dr. Robert Raicht, medical director of Odvssev House.

HALLUCINOGENS Things are trickier when it comes to LSD and its hallucinogenic kin, but reports suggest that most '60s trips ended relatively benignly. The most rigorous studies of hallucinogens have been conducted not on boomers, who used the drugs intermittently and furtively, but on Native American populations for whom consumption of the hallucinogen pevote is part of their cultural and religious fabric. In November researchers from the McLean psychiatric hospital outside Boston released a five-year study that found no cognitive or psychological problems among Native American regular users, some of whom even performed better on psychological tests than those with minimal substance use. It's certainly too much to say that every pevote user emerges undamaged by the drug, and the lead researcher on the study. Dr. John Halpern, takes care to stress that his findings apply only to the Native American groups he studied.

LSD and mescaline, which are often whipped up in unpoliced labs in uncontrolled ways, present different problems. The condition that the experts call HPPD (hallucinogen persisting perception disorder) and that users call flashbacks is a very real problem. But Halpern says it is relatively rare, striking mostly people who use LSD specifically. But there are other risks too. Some trips have ended catastrophically, with suicides or fatal accidents. In other cases, the disaster was not physical but emotional. "There were a lot of people who de-

1.7 million

Estimated number of Americans over 50 who were abusing drugs in 2001 4.4 million humber of over-50 abusers by 2020, when baby boomers will be 56 to 74

compensated into major mental illness," says Dr. Charles Grob, a professor of psychiatry at UCLA's school of medicine. "But you could make the case that these were people who were vulnerable to begin with."

COCAINE The coke party started late for most boomers—not until the 1980s—but when it hit, it hit hard. Even cocaine apologists admit that the drug is dangerously addictive and sometimes lethal. Coke-triggered strokes and heart attacks—both of which can occur in people with no known cardiovascular disease—are the real deal, caused by the sudden elevation of blood pressure and spasms of vessels. The damage can be done suddenly and acutely," says Raicht, "or slowly and chronically."

Whether periodic cocaine use develops into disabling addiction

can be something of a crapshoot. There's a tendency for most people who have any kind of stake in conventional life to modulate their use and not let it get out of hand,' says Craig Reinarman, a sociologist at the University of California at Santa Cruz and a co-author of two books on coanie. For most people, he says, the breaking point for cocaine use is about an eighth of an ounce a week. But that's just a very general rule, and for many people, the threshold can be lower. And when it comes to crack—crystallized and smoked instead of snorted—addiction, often from the first use; is much harder to avoid.

HEROLIN Easily the most lethal of the gang of four, heroin frequently hooks users for the rest of their lives, unless it simply kills them first. One long-term study, published in May 2001 in the Archives of General Psychiatry, followed 581 male heroin users from 1962 to 1997. Nearly half the subjects were dead by the time the study ended. Of those still alive,

> Aging metabolisms cause drugs to hit harder and linger longer, doing more damage with the same dose



in New York City. Canes are a common sight among older addicts, the result of undertreated disbetes

many were self-medicating with multiple other illicit drugs or alcohol and 67% smoked cigarettes. Not surprisingly, heroin users suffer from a wide range of medical ills, including hypertension, liver and pulmonary diseases and HiV. But the most common cause of death from heroin is overdose, with 22% of the subjects in the long-term study dying that way. Some of the health problems associated with heroin come from the impurities it is cut with. Overdoses often spring from an uncut batch that is unexpectedly oure.

THE ULTIMATE IMPACT OF ANY OF THOSE drugs, of course, depends on the users. No one has yet been able to tease out the precise mix of genetics, temperament and environment that makes one person a recreational user and another a lifelong addict, but clearly there is no single cause. "There are inherited components, hormonal components, psychosocial variables such as powerfy," says Provet. And then, of course, there is mere opportunity—something the "60s provided in abundance.

"That was the era," says Evelyn, 56, an Odyssey House graduate and an addiction counselor there. "If the drugs hadn't been so available, I wouldn't have been apt to go looking for them."

As drug users mature, geriatric biology and life circumstances tend to tighten the drugs' hold. Reduced body mass, slower metabolism and less efficient kidneys and liver mean that the same quantity of drug hits harder and stays in the body longer.

Older users who think they're keeping their doses fixed are thus, in effect, steadily increasing them. What's more, the loss of a spouse or job or merely the boredom of retirement could tip the nonuser into experimentation and the borderline user into Rull-blown addiction. Moses, 57, never touched heroin until 2001, when his wife ided. But when he picked it up, he got hooked fast. 'I missed my wife. I was lonely,' he says.' I didn't want to live, but I didn't have the nerve to put a gun to my head.'

For the seniors who do get clean—and the millions more who will need to in the years to come—there are a few factors that drive recovery. Seeing peers die of addiction certainly scares some straight. So too do late-life worries about the legacy one is going to leave. "You get to a point when you think about having a diguified end," says Jon Roberts, another Odyssey House veteran who is now a counselor. "You think about family reunification, about giving back through community service, about having sent your life as more than an addict."

It's rare for teenagers of any generation to think that far ahead, never mind the cohort that reached adolescence at the height of the drug boom. It may be impossible to slow the demographic conveyor belt that's going to dump so many of them into the senior population with a habit they picked up during their summers of love. But it's not too late for them to shait toff, achieving the peace in the last chapters of their lives that the drugs promised









VIRONMEN

Why Are **These Frogs Croaking?**

Massive die-offs in the American tropics are an early warning of the effects of global warming

By JEFFREY KLUGER

ARDY AND PLENTIFUL AS THEY SEEM. frogs are actually very frail things. with a semipermeable skin that leaves them vulnerable to even the slightest hiccup in their environment. So when entire species of brightly colored harlequin frogs started dving off in the cloud forests



GOING OR GONE 1. Fleischmann's ng in Costa Rica of Central and South America about 25 years ago, scientists suspected that something in the amphibians' ecosystems-they weren't sure what-had gone awry.

Now an international team of scientists think they've solved the mystery. Comparing changes in annual temperatures with the number of frog species spotted, they've documented for the first time a direct correlation between global warming and the extinction of about two-thirds of the 110 known species of harlequin frog.

The critters in question are favorites of scientists studying climate change. Quick and polychromatic, the frogs spend their days near stream banks, where their constant motion and vibrant hues make it easy for researchers to count them. Previous studies have shown that it's not heat alone that kills harlequins but also a pathogenthe chytrid fungus-that attacks their skin. The chytrid is actually a cool-weather organism, doing best at temperatures from 63°F to 77°F. Paradoxically, an effect of global warming is to increase cloud cover in the tropical forests, lowering daytime temperatures and making the frogs more vulnerable to fungal assault.

The most persuasive piece of evidence in the new study, led by I. Alan Pounds of the Monteverde Cloud Forest Preserve in Costa Rica and published in Nature, is a graph that shows both annual changes in average temperature and the number of frog ex-

> tinctions per year on the same grid: the jagged lines track each other with eerie precision. Species dieoffs follow warm years 80% of the time. With tropical air temperatures from 1975 to 2000 rising three times as fast as the 20th century average, things should only get worse.

> Frogs are what scientists call an indicator species: particularly sensitive animals that are the first to go when the climate starts to change. Their extinction may increase pressure on government and industry to dial back greenhouse gases. The harleguins, after all, are only the beginning. - With

reporting by Cristina Scalet/New York

THE TROUBLE WITH MEMOIRS

An author is accused of making up key parts of his

best-selling life story. Does truth really matter?

By LEV GROSSMAN

10 JAMES FBIK, ON THE NIGHT OF OCT. 24,
1992, pull up outside a bar in Granville,
Ohio, in a white Mercury? Was he both
drunk and high on crack at the time? Did
he jump the curb, bump a cop with sid
Mercury and then get dragged out of
the car screaming by the police, who proceeded to beat him up?

Did he then go to rehab, write a book about it, inspire millions of readers and make a ton of money?

A lot of the stories Frey tells in his 2003 memoir. A Million Little Pieces, are currently in dispute, but that last tale invi: To date A Million Little Pieces has sold about 3.5 million copies, helped not a little by the fact that Oprah Winfrey chose it as her book clubs third nomfiction title. She proclaimed Frey the Man Who Kepf Oprah Awake at Night. The only book that sold better than A Million Little Pieces has year was Harry Fotter and the Half-Blood Prince. Frey's 2005 sequel, My Friend Leonard, didn't do too badly either.

But what exactly did those millions of readers buy? A Million Little Pieces is the gritty, graphic, bombastic story of an Angry Young Man who-despite his well-concealed heart of gold-manages to get himself addicted to drugs and booze. After a string of arrests and a lot of self-destructive behavior, he winds up in a Minnesota rehab elinic, where he befriends a seary-funny amgster (also with a heart of gold) and falls in love with a tragic recovering erack addict (ditto). Redemontion ensues.

On Jan. 8, however, the Smoking Gun (useue theomokinggun.cum), a website specializing in dig-ging up public records, posted a lengthy report that challenges some of the facts in Frey's book. Among other things, the website's staff found a lack of evidence that Frey had a relationship with a girl who died

in a train accident when he was in high school—Frey even wrote that he was blamed for the accident, which did much to stoke his dark-viar mojo. The Smaling, Gun found Froy's claim that he engaged in a melee with police officers in 1892 to have been faltricated. What is most disturbing, in a way (since a major pilot point hangs thereon), is that the report questions the book's claim that Frey spent three months in an Ohio juil after rehab. The site even quotes Frey as having said in an interview. I was in for a significantly shorter nericd of time than three months.

What's going on here? Did Frey lie to boost his story's drama and his own street cred? TIME was able to check some of the Smoking Gun's findings, and came to the same conclusion. For example, Marianne Sanders, 62, the mother of the girl who died, says that she and her husband recognize Frey but that he was not a good friend of their daughter's and that he wasn't even remotely blamed for the accident that killed her in 1986 (another girl, whom Frey doesn't mention, also died in the accident). "We knew the name," Sanders says. "We didn't know him personally. His name was never mentioned in any connection with the accident at all." (Sanders isn't nearly as unset about the book as a lot of other people. "I don't wish him bad," she says. "He seems like he's a good writer. He should've been a little more careful. I guess."

As for Frey, he isn't giving an inch—or he gives in inch, but that's all. He wrote on his own website (ucura, bigininindustries, com). "Let the haters hate, let the doubters doubt. I stand by my book, and my life, and I won't dignify his bulls..., with any sort of further response." On Wednesday (lawing apparently reconsidered that last part). he turned up on Larry King Lice with a somewhat more manced position. "A memoir is a subjective refelling of events." He said. "It's an individual's perception of what happened in their own life. This is my recollection of my life." (He compared his book to Jerze Kosinskis' The



Painted Bird—a misstep, since Kosinski's book was published as a novel.) Oprah called in to the show to lend Frey her carefully phrased support. "The underlying message of redemption in James Frey's memoir still resonates with me," she said. "And I know it resonates with millions of other people who have read this book."

But even though she was covering Frey's back, Winfrey didn't mist be opportunity to protect her own rear, making itclear that she considered publishers, and not herself, responsible for any blowback. "I am disappointed by this controversy," she said, "because I rely on the publishers to define the category that a book falls within and also the authenticity of the work."

That's not actually how it works. Publishers pass the buck to authors. Amazingly, it's rare for a publisher to fact-check the books it sells. Publishers usually just require writers to swear up and down that their books are true and authentic, and leave it at that. "It's pretty much standard practice, outside of potentially libelous statements, that the author is essentially responsible," says Larry Kirshbaum, a literary agent and former CEO of the Time Warner Book Group. "To my knowledge there is very rarely any fact-checking. I think it would be almost impossible to fact-check all the titles that are published by a single publisher. It would be onerous.

As the industry explanation, onerous is not entirely satisfying to readers who believe they are getting a true story. Memoirs have become increasingly lurid in recent years, oozing with child abuse, poverty, drugs, alcohol, violence and insanity, and sex in any number of unsavory flavors; the bar was permanently raised (or lowered) in 1997. when Kathryn Harrison published The Kiss. an account of her four-year affair with her father. Not coincidentally, memoirs have also become one of the best-selling categories in publishing. It's not hard to imagine the combination of high stakes and a reigning spirit of hotly contested one-downsmanship leading writers to exaggerate.

But leaving aside the basic weirdness of a man's reputation being damaged by the fact that he didn't do jail time, there's also a larger cultural collision in progress here. Right now, according to Nielsen BookScan, nonfiction outsells fiction by about 100 million books a year. "Fiction seems to have lost a lot of authority in the culture," says Michael Coffey, executive managing editor at Publishers Weekly, "People now look more toward true stories as something that justifies the expense of their time.

Down Memory Lane

Write and Wrong

Frey's book is hardly the first to come under fire. Memoirs have always attracted unsolicited fact-checking, especially by the people in them



LILLIAN HELLMAN Pentimento Published: 1973 The playwright's account of her lifelong friendship with a woman she

probably never met.

Mary McCarthy famously remarked, "Every word she writes is a lie, including a and the."

DAVE PELZER
A Child Called "It"
Published: 1993
An account of
Pelzer's hideous,
violent abuse as a
child at his mother's
hands. Family



hands. Family
members have disputed his version. His
grandmother once said, "His books
should be in the fiction section."



FRANK MCCOURT Angela's Ashes Published: 1996 A bleak, lyrical account of growing up poor in Ireland, McCourt's memoir won a Pulitzer Prize.

It also earned some grumbling from his native Limerick, where it was felt he had wronged his hometown.

AUGUSTEN BURROUGHS Running with Scissors Published: 2002 In his book, Burroughs says his parents sent him to



live with an eccentric psychiatrist and his brood. The brood feels maligned and has filed a lawsuit.



TONY HENDRA Father Joe Published: 2004 Hendra scored a best seller with his tale of finding redemption through his friendship with a Benedictine

monk. His daughter fired back with a memoir of her own, claiming Hendra had left something out—that he molested her.

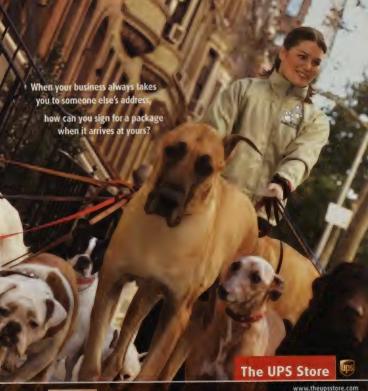
But there's no corresponding willingness on the part of readers to give up the quirky characters and vivid details and sexy twists and pleasing, rounded endings they're used to in fiction. To get those effects in nonfiction, writers sometimes cut corners—the factual kind. "If you want to have something that can be sold as based on a true story," Coffey says, "you're going to run into guys like James Frey who are embellishing with techniques that are considered a gift in fiction writing but apparently a sin in a memoir."

No wonder a panel of linguists chose truthiness—a word popularized by faux anchorman Stephen Colbert to mean "the quality of preferring concepts or facts one wishes to be true, rather than concepts or facts known to be true"—as 2005's word of the year. A Million Little Pieces is packed with truthiness the way Dunkin Donuts' Latte Lite is packed with Splenda.

In defense of his book. Frey invoked the fundamentally subjective nature of the memoir. "It's an individual's perception," he said to King, "my recollection." And he's right. Any memoir is unavoidably filtered through the author's memory and feelings and the inherently impressionistic nature of any literary medium. But before we get lost in an epistemological fog, let's not forget that there's a difference between unavoidable distortions and willful deceptions. of the memoirist: others must be deliberately imported into it. That's a distinction that memoirist Mary Karr, author of The Liars' Club and Cherry, is adamant about. "This is not rocket science," she says. "This is not like sexing a chicken. Is it fiction, is it nonfiction? I think the entire book is horse dookie. This guy has done for memoirs what Jayson Blair [the New York Times reporter who fabricated interviews) did for reporters. What would it have cost him to stick a label of fiction on it?"

Karr isn't the only memoir writer who's mad as hell, geannette Walls, author of The Glass Castle, says she has been losing sleep over it. "What he did is wrong on so many levels, and I'm outraged by it, 'she fumes. "He lied. Writing a memoir, especially one of the work of the way supposed to have done—or one like I did—is a very personal thing, You sit down, and you write about your innermest feelings and your experiences, and you share them with your readers. When it succeeds, it's a very printimate exchange. For him to have just so baldly lied is horrifying and disgusterial."

Walls is eloquent about the emotional cost of being honest on paper. Parts of The







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Glass Castle describe growing up desperately poor in West Virginia. "In school," she remembers, "I would go into the girls' bathroom and fish lunches out of the wastepaper basket. It was very, very embarrassing. It was something I had never told anybody." And both Walls and Karr vigorously maintain that nobody has been able to dispute the facts of their stories.

As does Frank McCourt, author of Angela's Ashes, 'Tis and this year's Teacher Man. "I ran into all of this questioning and disbelief," he says. "and nobody was able to trip me up on any of the facts of my life." He.

too, is reluctant to resort to high-level metaphysics to steer a course between fact and fiction. "It's like having commentary at a football game. There's the guy who gives you all of the statistics and tells you what you're looking at. Then there's one who provides color. I think the memoir writer is doing both."

Frey's second line of defense is a little more formidable. As he put it on Larry King, "the emotional truth is there" in his book. He means that whatever the bookkeepers and muckrakers turn up, his story has a psychological power that makes its factual status more or less moot. Millions of people.

some of them addicts, read the book and



he eschews A.A., he has been sober for 13 years

were deeply moved. Frey's readings are mob scenes. Are you really going to make a federal case out of where you shelve him in the bookstore?

But that just raises the question, If it's not factual, why didn't Frey publish A Million Little Pieces as fiction? By claiming that his story is literally true. Frey endows it with a heightened immediacy and an emotional force that it would have lacked as a novel. In effect, he borrowed a little extra emotional oomph from his trusting readers. who treated his book as lived experience, a receipt for real dues paid by a real person.

That's not trivial. If Frey wasn't entitled to that immediacy and that force-if he

stole that oomph rather than earned itwell, that's cheating. Frey originally shopped the book to publishers as a work of fiction. How does that not set off anybody's alarm

But step back a bit from the melee, and you can see a different picture, one that's easier to sympathize with. Whatever its facts are, A Million Little Pieces has moments of great and indisputable honesty, moments when Frey is willing to show himself looking ridiculous and unpleasant and petty and even cowardly. Here's one of them: "Lving became part of my life," he writes about his years as a drug-addicted college student. "I lied if I needed to lie to get something or get out of something."

Nobody questions that Frey was an alcoholic and a drug addict. And one of the habits addicts pick up is bending and breaking the truth on a regular, routine basis. If you look at the distortions in Frey's book not as acts of cynical calculation or self-aggrandizement but as symptoms of his disease, they have a pathos to them. If Frey is still lying, if he can't face his life as he lived it, he's not whole yet. Redemption is a wonderful thing, but it's possible that the man whose life became A Million Little Pieces may not have quite put himself back together again. - Reported by Kristin Kloberdanz/Chicago, Lina Lofaro and Andrea Sachs/New York and Chris Maag/Granville

The Curious Case of JT Leroy

The Boy Who Wasn't There

nchronicity with the controversy surrounding James Frey is the far stranger case of the writer JT Leroy. Leroy is, or was, a cult phenomenon, less well-known than Frey but with a passionate following that included several celebrities, among them Carrie Fisher, Billy Corgan and Courtney

Part of Leroy's appeal-as with Frey's-was his terrifying personal history. As a boy in rural West Virginia, Leroy was pimped out by his mother as a "lot lizard"---a truck-stop prostitute-before he made his way to the streets of Los Angeles, where he became homeless and addicted to drugs. Somewhere along the way he contracted HIV.

Rescued by a kindly couple

and nursed into a semblance of stability by a psychologist. Leroy began spinning his brutal early years into literary gold, In 2000, when Leroy was 20, the New York Times called his first novel, Sarah, "deft and imaginative" and "astonishingly confident." Writers like **Dennis Cooper and** Mary Gaitskill champi-

published him in his literary magazine. Two more books followed, along with numerous stories, articles and Hollywood offers. One adaptation (The Heart Is Deceitful Above All Things) is due out in March. and another is in development. Leroy cultivated an eccentric, reclusive image. In person,

oned him. Dave Eggers

he was flighty and silent.





always wearing dark glasses. a Warholian wig and a necklace that he said was made from a raccoon's penis. At public appearances he had celebrities read his works for him.

And then the persona fell apart. In October, New York magazine produced evidence fabrication by a couple of older writer-musicians named Laura Albert and Geoffrey Knoop. This month the New York Times confirmed the story and added that Leroy has been played in public by Knoop's younger stepsister Savannah.

The Knoops are not commenting. One could try to defend the deception as a postmodern game in which the author's identity becomes part of the art, but that feels like more charity than the case deserves. The revelations can only leave Leroy's fans disappointed and his works diminished. If it is a game, it's the readers who lose. -L.G.

Let the Revolution Begin

For Hollywood, *Bubble* means trouble: a new way of releasing films. Oh, and the movie's good too

CHIZOPOLIS IS THE NAME OF A META-weird movie that Seven Soderbergh once wrote, directed, photographed and starred in (playing two roles, of course). It might also be the name of the artistic heldom he has created. Few Holly-wood directors have such a distinct signature—or, rather, two of them. One part of Soderbergh's brain makes can't miss capier

films and weepie dramas (Ocean's Eleven, Erin Brockovich) with the town's priciest talent. Another part is indelibly indie: he will shoot an ad-lib HBO series about lobbyists (K Street). or remake a mystical Russian sci-fi art film (Solaris). Not everything works, but it's more than cool that he tries.

Bubble is, in a few ways. Soderbergh's most radical and invigorating experiment yet. He made it for peanuts in blue-collar towns on the Ohio-West Virginia border. casting in the leading roles locals who had never acted before. He shot it (himself, under the name Peter Andrews) in three weeks with digital

cameras. And if you're wondering where you can find Bubble. the answer is kind of everywhere: on Jan. 27 in the Landmark theater chain, on the HDNet Movies cable-TV channel and on Jan. 31 on DVD. It's the first film with a three-media premiere.

Small it may be in scope and budget, but Bubble is a big blast at the antiquated way movies get to people. The film is the first of six that Soderbergh plans to make in a deal with the Broadcast.com billionaires Todd Wagner and Mark Cuban. Although commitments to more traditional movies will delay his other HDNet projects till next year, Bubble marks a grand beginning.

Coleman Hough's spare, perceptive script is set in what must be one of the last doll-manufacturing plants in the U.S. Hefty, fortyish Martha (Debbie Doebereiner) and her winsome young friend Kyle (Dustin Ashlev) pass their Junob breaks eating

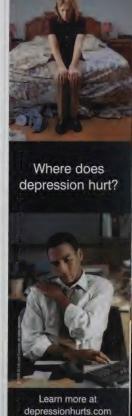
fast food and making slow talk. Rose (Misty Wilkins), a young single mom with a bit of a past and some bad habits, joins the workforce and upsets Martha's and Kyle's placid comradeship. Pretty soon there's a death.

The dialogue is time-filling conversation you might hear anywhere (but in a Hollywood movie). The film doesn't judge or prod its characters, just watches the long fuse of the plot dwindle, then explode. The "actors" bring an authenticity to this strip-mall, stripmined area. Ashley is a student, Wilkins a beauty-salon stylist and Doehereiner the manager of the Parkersburg, W.Va.,

Kentucky Fried Chicken. All are good, but Doebereiner's a real find. With eyes as blue as those her Martha presses into plastic doll faces, she brings a fresh look to a decent person who's addicted to the emotional status guo.

Martha won't get what she wants. Neither will studio bosses and movie exhibitors, if Soderbergh and his fellow incendiaries have their way. But forget for the moment the promise and threat that Bubble holds for The Future of Movies. This is a fascinating drama for Right Now.—By Richard Carliss





Answers That Mat







EPA applauds these national leaders

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one commute at a time.

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OUALCOMM

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Wyeth

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BOOKS

Nobody Used the Big One

A major American historian revisits the global struggle between communism and the West



ADMIT IT—YOU MISS THE cold war. It was a roughly symmetrical duel, a face-off between two nuclear powers. The battle against terrorism is more like a free-for-all in a gladiator movie—spear vs. net, triton land our troops with guns.

movie—spear vs. net, triton vs. tiger. We land our troops with guns. They board our trains with backpacks.

in The Cold War- A New History (the Penguin Press; 333 pages), John Lewis Caddis, the pre-eminent American scholar of the period, does indeed manage to make the old global standoff seem, for all it simanties, like a relatively coherent and well-managed struggle. In this brisk, useful primer on the period, he reminds us that containment, the decades-long American policy of confining Soviet ambitions abroad, though a dangerous game, was a highly successful one. "The world, I am quite sure; as better place for that conflict having been fought in the way it was," he writes," and won by the side that won it."

But at the outset, no one could be sure that would be so, At the close of World War II, the Soviet Union had a huge predominance in the number of troops stationed at the edge of Western Europe. For a time, the U.S. had the advantage of nuclear weapons, but not for long. Franklin Roose-velt once assured Stalin that the U.S. would withdraw from Europe within two years after Hiller was defeated. Instead, faced with

the need to protect weakened Western democracies, the U.S. would embark on the Marshall Plan, a bid to make Europeans prosperous enough fast enough to keep them from turning communist, and initiate NATO, its first transatlantic alliance since its 18th century pact with France.

For Gaddis, it was Dwight Eisenhower who made one of the crucial recognitions of the nuclear era, that American policy must be based on the assumption that any nuclear war would quickly escalate to an all-out exchange, annihilating both sides. Although this discouraged policy thinkers who imagined that tactical nukes could become battlefield options in small wars, it also opened the way to the world of mutually assured destruction, the lasting stalemate between two massively armed powers that only dared to thrust at each other indirectly, through proxy wars in Southeast Asia, Africa and Central America.

The status quo might have stood even longer than it did, Galdis argues, but along came Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul II and Mikhail Gorbachev, all prepared to think anew. By that time, thanks to the manifest failures of the Marxist system, so were a lot of other people. More than the disposition of forces, victory in the war of ideas was crucial to ending the cold war. When the Berlin Wall finally fell, communism was so discredited that not even communists believed in its anymor.—** **Richard Lenen***



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CHOICE **IMPORTS** TO CATCH

TV is an American cash crop, but these shows make the case for free trade

BLEAK HOUSE

PBS, SUNDAYS, 9 P.M. E.T.

EVEN AT EIGHT HOURS, THIS adaptation of Charles Dickens' tale of an interminable inheritance case is quite nimble a feat for writer Andrew Davies. The Masterpiece Theatre coproduction captures the novel's satire, melodrama and horror-movie suspense without undercutting any of those disparate tones. Gillian Anderson is haunting as Lady Dedlock, a claimant tormented by the mystery of a longlost lover. But heart of the story is Esther (Anna

Maxwell Martin).

orphan caught up in the suit. This is

the sensible

law drama such as Boston Legal's David E. Kelley can only dream about.

VI AM NOT AN ANIMAL

SUNDANCE, CHECK LISTINGS IF GEORGE ORWELL HAD READ US Weekly instead of Marx, he might have written this savage cartoon satire rather than Ani-

> mal Farm. A band of talking beasts escapes a secret British facility and pursues the idea of freedom-shaped by a diet of

tabloids-which consists mainly deals, obsessing over celebrities and making a pile of money. I Am Not an Animal shows what separates us from the

fauna-and it isn't pretty. TWENTY THOUSAND STREETS UNDER THE SKY BBC AMERICA, FEB. 11 AND 12, 8 P.M. E.T.

THIS WISTFUL MINI-SERIES, based on a 1935 Patrick Hamilton novel, is less love triangle than unrequited love triangle. Plain, earnest pub worker Ella (Sally Hawkins) pines for naive, literary barman Bob (Bryan Dick), who in turn pines for Jenny (Zoë Tapper), a streetwalker who pines for her former self, her lost

opportunities and her ability to love. Streets is a keeneved, elegantly acted noir drama of heartbreak in alleys and darkened movie houses.

EPITAFIOS HBO SIGNATURE. WEDNESDAYS. 9 PM. E.T.

compliments a killer who arranges elaborate

tableaus at his murder sites: "He created a symbolic space full of metaphors." True of this serial killer, and true of this killer serial. Dark, operatic and visually rich, this Argentine drama derives its suspense from its willingness to do anything-including killing off cops who are central to the story. The indispensable star of a crime show. Epitafios understands, is the criminal.



11 PM. E.T.

BRITAIN IS KNOWN FOR ITS grand formal gardens-but also the dank town-house backvards that Matt James renovates: drab, walled pits that are, as he says, "more prison vard than courtvard." His budgetconscious solutions treat each garden like an extension of the house, making up for limited space with careful design. You may not appreciate all his choices-say, the herd of statuary cows trainsing through a patio-but even suburbanites can learn from him about handling common problems. especially lack of sunlight. (This is a British show, after all.)



AMC, SATURDAYS, 10 P.M. E.T.

THIS UNAPOLOGETICALLY SLIGHT con drama is a chrome-plated time machine back to the mid-'60s. In the spirit of Catch Me If You Can, it signals its retro intentions with midcenturymodern production design, a iazz sound track and the casting of Robert Vaughn (The Man from U.N.C.L.E.) as an aging grifter ("You're never too old to cheat, my dear"). Adrian Lester (Primary Colors) is ice cool as Mickey, a Zen master of con who treats his work more as philosophy than fraud. It's all delightfully phony, but will win your faith on charm and panache. Just watch your wallet. -By James Poniewozik



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Generations TIM

A Spa f



By LAURA KOSS-FEDER

BEATRICE FOXMAN HAD TO DRAG her husband Stanley to their first spa vacation eight years ago. It just didn't seem very, well, manly, Stanley says. But after a few active yet peaceful days in the warm sun-and as many deep-tissue massages-Stanley was singing a different tune. "Men are taking a different approach to remaining

FACE TO FACE Men and women enjoy mud masks specially designed to cleanse and exfoliate their different types of skin





healthy and looking and feeling good," he says. Now the couple from Silver Spring, Md., get to a spa as often as time permits. They have been to the spa at the Ritz-Carlton in Key Biscayne, Fla., nine times in the past three years.

Stanley, a dentist, and Beatrice, an office manager at his practice, are both 65. They swim, read and take long walks on the beach during their spa visits-and increasingly they find themselves bumping into other couples their age and

vounger. It's no coincidence: the number of baby-boomer couples taking spa-oriented vacations accounts for 1 of every 3 spa-goers, up from 1 in 5 just five years ago, according to industry estimates. The most popular destinations in the U.S. are in Arizona, California, Florida, Texas and New York. Outside the U.S., top destinations include Mexico, the Caribbean, Italy, Thailand and Ireland.

Women have long appreciated the spa as a place to relieve tension

and stress. Now the men in their lives are discovering the same benefits. KSL Resorts in La Quinta, Calif., surveyed boomer men in October and found that 20% of them had been to a spa. That's up from less than 1% five years ago, says Arthur Berg, vice president of marketing for KSL. "You used to see the wives in this age group go to the spas while the husbands played golf." Berg says. Now the men, driven to stay fit and attractive and to reward themselves for years of hard work, are enjoying everything from manicures to mud baths, "The stigma is gone," says Kirwan Rockefeller, a social and behavioral scientist and cocreator of the certificate program in spa and hospitality management at the University of California at Irvine, "The TV show) Queer Eye for the Straight Guy has done a lot toward reassuring men that it is O.K. to get a massage."

Spa therapies also have proven medical benefits. Massages and reflexology, during which muscles are rubbed and soothed and blood flow is increased in aching areas, help lower blood pressure, boost circulation and alleviate arthritis pain, says Dr.

> Gisele Wolf-Klein, chief of geriatrics at the North Shore-Long Island Jewish Health System in New Hyde Park, N.Y. Her colleague Dr. Laura Herman, a psychiatrist, adds that calm surroundings and relaxing treatments help release to the brain more endorphins, which are chemicals that promote an overall feeling of well-being and happiness. As boomers

begin turning 60 this year, they increasingly have the resources to afford that kind of upscale pampering. The average price for a resort massage is \$120, reports magazine and website Spa Finder (spafinder.com), Facials cost \$120, manicures \$35 and pedicures \$60. Most spa visitors indulge in at least one treatment a day. That is on top of the

usual airfare, meals and rooms that run several hun-

dred dollars a day

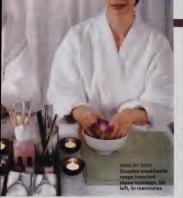
Floyd Isley, 65, a former Air Force pilot and now a semiretired high-tech consultant in Carlsbad, Calif., and wife Dianna, 61, a retired nurse, haven't any qualms about shelling out whatever it takes. "We're enjoying the fruits of our labor." Dianna says. The couple recently spent \$1,500 for massages on a weeklong getaway. They visit a day spa once a week near their home. "We like the deep-tissue massages that really





44MEN LIKE ME just didn't do this ... Now I may initiate our next spa Vacation." -Steve Landon, retired executive





help ease any physical discomfort," Dianna says. "It's our therapy for stress and anxiety."

Spa resorts are responding to growing demand from folks like the sleeps by offering facilities better suited to side-by-side treatments and new male-oriented services, such as barbershop-style shaves and massages specifically designed to ease muscles sore from sports and heavy lifting, says Spa Finder president Susie Ellis: Spa Toccare at the Borgata Hotel Casino & Spa in Atlantic City, N.J., features a Yo Rock Pacial (\$150 for 50 minutes), which offers cleansing and exfoliation with products specifically designed for men's skin, and a barbershop with a pool table and leather lounge chairs.

"Men like me just didn't do this kind of thing years ago, but now I think I may just initiate our next spa vacation," says Steve Landon, 59, a retired phone-company executive who in October took his first spa trip, to Socitostiale, Ariz., with his wife Cathy, 58, a retired elementary school teacher. The Colleyville, Texas, couple enjoyed massages and facials during their fourday getaway. Spa veterans Carolyn and Giovanni Panizzi of Valdosta, Ga., co-owners of a staffing-services company, have been to about 15 spa resorts across the country. "Resorts are catering more to aby boomers who want to be pampered but not overly fussed over-particularly men," says Giovanni, 58. "They're understanding our needs better."

Retired police officer Harry McCormick, 68, of Northport, NY, was so relaxed during his visit to the Cranwell Resort, Spa & Golf Club in Lenox, Mass., that while there he managed to write the last pages of a book about his life in law enforcement—between massages and frequent stops at the pool, sauma and steam room. He and wife Maureen, 66, a retired secretary, stay at the hotel at least twice a year. They spend about \$700 on treatments, including Maureen's facials and his deep-tissue massages, which give him relief from two herniated discs. "It's like Dorothy finding her own special Land of Qz' jasy Harry." These treatments are a quiet, peaceful oasis for me, even though they don't come chear?

For those seeking a more comprehensive overhaul, there are medical spas that offer full health-assessment programs. The granddaddy is the Ganyon Banch Health Resort in Tlucson, Ariz., where staff members include physicians, nurses, psychologists, exercise physiologists and nutritionists. The resort's two-year-old Executive Health Program, which calls for four days of complete medical exams, laboratory work, stress tests and bone-density tests, is geared toward boomers, says director Dr. Phillip Eichling, and costs about 83,500.

Coming soon: multigenerational spas to accommodate grandiathers with grand-daughters. Another growth area will be residential spas featuring large hotel rooms designed for in-room treatments, says Cordon Tareta, global director of spas at Chicago-based Hyatt Hotels Corp., which has such rooms at properties in Banglook. Dubai and Hong Kong, "Boomers who have worked hard for so many years now have the chance to enjoy the ultimate in relaxation and convenience without having to leave their guest rooms." Tareta says. "They re embarking on a whole new generation of huxury, and the men are loving it even more than the women." So the couples spa movement promises to be around for a while.



FIVE TOP SPAS

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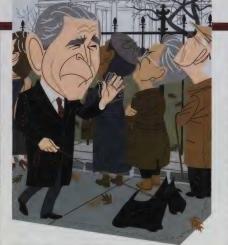
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mBOULDERS RESORT & GOLDEN DOOR, Carefree, Ariz.

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Cold Shoulder

How Bush is alienating many older Americans, and what that means for the coming midterm vote

By DOUGLAS WALLER

DONNY CARROLL, A REPUBLICAN most of his working life, voted for George W. Bush in 2004 because Bush "was trying to do a good job." Ask him how he feels now, and you get a different answer. "If he was running again, I wouldn't vote for him," says the 61-year-old retired plumber from Eureka, Calif. Why not? Medicare's new

prescription-drug benefit is too complicated, he says, adding that "the government seems more concerned about drug companies making a profit than the people getting insured."

Carroll isn't the only one feeling disenfranchised. Older folks' growing disellationment with Bush bodes ill for Republicans in midterm elections, which are less than a year away. Older Americans are a key G.O.F. constituency. Yet a Wall Street Journal—News poll last month found that the G.O.F.'s numbers, which have been sinking, are especially weak among

seniors: 58% of respondents 65 and older disapproved of Bush's handling of the economy, compared with a 53% disapproval rating for those under 65. Senior support of Republicans in Congress shows signs of eroding too, with more saying they would like Democrats to win control.

Difficulty in understanding how to enroll for the new prescription-drug benefit is the biggest issue. Bush claims the new plan offers valuable choices. But seniors find them paralyzing. In most states, they must select from among 40 different insurance plans when what they wanted was "a simple delivery of their prescription drugs," says Richard Fiesta, director of government and political affairs for the Alliance for Retired Americans. That is aggravated by a looming May 15 enrollment deadline.

Dean Counningham, 72, a retired railroad-company manager in Albuquer-que, N.M., is further worried that he will lose his more generous employer-provided drug plan. He says he can see the day "when corporations get out of providing prescription-drug coverage for retirees and let the government cover it." Angry that Congress hasn't done more to ensure that he can keep his private plan, Cunningham, a lifelong Republican, vows to vote against his state's G.O.P. incumbents in the next congressional elections.

"Over the past year we also had the Social Security debate, in which they didn't support the President's proposal." c.o.p. pollster Bill McInturff says of seniors. "We had \$3-a-gal, gasoline for this price-sensitive constituency. And they were concerned about the war in Iraq. So there's been a lot of stuff going on that's making them pretty riled up."

Surveys have found the elderly to be satisfied with the Social Security system as is—and skeptical of Bush's warnings. "Let's just tweak it to make sure it works," says Carroll.

Democrats hope to keep the discontent burning. Representative Rahm Emanuel, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, sent a memo to the party's House candidates around the country, urgin them to "host town hall [meetings] with seniors, visit senior centers and build a higher profile explaining that the Republicans" plan for Medicare is not working."

The White House has put prominent retirees, including former Senator Bob Dole, on the road to promote the prescription-drug program. The party is urging candidates to meet with seniors to explain the benefits. Once the program gets under way and "they see how much they actually save, that's going to change some minds," predicts Carl Forti, spokesman for the National Republican Congressional Committee. Meanwhile, the G.O.P. can take comfort that even though voters like Carroll and Cunningham are angry with the party, they also concede they aren't sure Democrats can do any better.

Forbes FYI

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you order by Feb. 28, 2006 AUTHOR GAIL SHEEHY has been examining human behavior for three decades. In 1976, she wrote her breakthrough book, Passages, which looks at life's transitions and has sold 5 million copies. In her new book, Sex and the Seasoned Woman, Sheehy, 68, tackles a taboo topic: the sexuality of older women and how they can live a long passionate life. Sheehy spoke with TIME'S ANDREA SACHS.

their sex life



Time. She is spicy and, like a fine wine. complex. She is mellow and effervescent, sweet and tart. She can be playful and maternal. I think you see that in Camilla, who waited 30-some years for her prince. She is both a nanny figure and a seductive figure who wears décolletage and form-fitting clothes. She's also a trusted adviser to her husband.

The subject of older women and sex makes many folks uncomfortable. Why? Older women and sex are something people didn't want to hear or talk about. It used to be that middle-aged children were scandalized if their 70-year-old mom started dating, but not so much if their 75-year-old dad married a 30-

year-old. With Mom it just wasn't done.

Don't older men look for younger women? Usually. That's why older

women typically hook up with men who are vounger or older than they are. And some are very open about saying they like having several different companions, older and younger. Younger is wonderful for hot

athletic sex, and the older man is really a wonderful cultural companion.

Aren't some older women happy to leave

sex behind? Yes, and there are men like that too. The sadder women are those I call the LLs. the Lowered Libidos, who expressed to me that they had very little libido but weren't doing anything about it. And they seemed to be closed off to knowing or doing anything about it. There are some very simple things older women can do that are healthy and safe.

What are those?

Gail Sheehy

Start by stepping up exercise and drop 5 to 10 lbs., which will boost your body image. Set a goal to meet 50 new people in the next year through activities, classes, the Internet. Vibrators can enhance and preserve a woman's

capacity to achieve orgasm. especially during periods of

Don't a lot of adult children flip out at the idea of Mom hooking up?

nonsexual activity.

There certainly are middle-

Mom's-gone-wild reaction if Mom starts to date. But what they should recognize is that if Mom has a boyfriend, she won't be nagging them about how they have to come to her for Christmas. And on summer vacation, they won't have to go with her or take her along with the kids. She'll be off with her boyfriend and his family. And if she's happy, they're going to be a lot happier.

What about sex in a seasoned marriage?

Some of the best sex is among couples who have been together a long time. In middle and later years, libido is reduced for both men and women, so it takes work and planning. When you plan sexual encounters, lovemaking can be more exciting. You may need more fantasy or foreplay. It helps to find a getaway as your private love nest.

Are you a seasoned woman?

I'm learning from all my interviews. I'm healthy, energetic, with a lively libido and a loving husband and more passions than I can pursue in one lifetime. So I hope I'll live to 100. But if I don't. I'll die trying.





Now, for many there's relief.

Restless Legs Syndrome (RLS) is a recognized medical condition.

One that's shared by nearly 1 in 10 US adults. Most people experience its symptoms in the evening:

- · The compelling urge to move
- · Disturbing sensations in the legs
- Moving offers temporary relief
 Trouble resting or falling asleep

People who suffer from RLS often describe their leg sensations as creepy, crawly, tingling, or tightening. Getting up and moving their legs offers some relief. but the symptoms always come back. Only a doctor can determine if you have Restless Legs Syndrome.

Requip is the first and only FDA-approved treatment for RLS. Taken daily, non-habit-forming prescription Requip helps relieve the symptoms of moderate-to-severe primary Restless Legs Syndrome (15 or more episodes monthly). So you may finally be able to relax.

Important Safety Information:

Prescription Requip is not for everyone. Requip Tablets may cause you to fall asleep or feel very sleepy during normal activities such as driving; or to faint or feel dizzy, nauseated, or sweaty when you stand up. Tell your discror if you experience these problems or if you drink alcohol or are taking other medicines that make you drowsy. Side effects include nausea, drowsness, womting, and dizziness. Most patients were not bothered enough to stop taking Requip. Requip should be taken once daily 1-3 hours before bedtime. See important patient information on the next page.

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Read this information completely before you start taking REQUIP. Read the information each time you get more medicine. There may be new information. This leatlet provides a summary about REQUIP it if does not include everything there is to know about your medicine. This information should not take the place of discussions unlikely and place the topic of the provided in the place of discussions and discussions are discu

What is REQUIP?

REQUIP is a prescription medicine to treat moderate-to-severe primary Restless Legs Syndrome. It is sometimes used to treat Parkinson's disease. Having one of these conditions does not mean you have or will develop the other

What is the most important information I should know about REQUIP?

- Patients with RLS should take REQUIP differently than patients with Parkinson's disease (see How should I take REQUIP for RLS? for the recommended dosing for RLS). A lower dose of REQUIP is generally needed for patients with RLS, and is taken once daily before bedfirm.
- There are known side effects of REQUIP. If you tall asleep or feel very sleepy
 white doing normal activities such as driving, faint, feel dizzy, naussaled, or
 sweaty when you stand up from sitting or lying down, you should talk with your
 doctor (see What are the possible side effects of REQUIP?)
- Before starting REQUIP, be sure to tell your doctor if you are taking any medicines that make you drowsy

Who should not take REQUIP?

You should not take REQUIP if you are allergic to the active ingredient ropinitrole or to any of the inactive ingredients. Your doctor and pharmacist have a list of the mactive ingredients.

What should I tell my doctor?

Resure to tell your doctor if

- · you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant
- vou have daytime sleepiness from a sleep disorder other than RLS or have
- unexpected steepiness or periods of sleep while taking REQUIP
- you are taking any other prescription or over-the-counter medicines. Some of these medicines may increase your chances of getting side effects while taking REQUIP.
- you start or stop taking other medicines while you are taking REQUIP This may
 increase your chances of getting side effects.
- you start or stop smoking while you are taking REQUIP Smoking may decrease the treatment effect of REQUIP
- you feel dizzy, nauseated, sweaty, or faint when you stand up from sitting or lying down
- you drink alcoholic beverages. This may increase your chances of becoming drowsy or sleepy white taking REQUIP

How should I take REQUIP for RLS?

- Be sure to take REQUIP exactly as directed by your doctor or healthcare provider
- The usual way to take REQUIP is once in the evening, 1 to 3 hours before beginne
 Your doctor will start you on a low dose of REQUIP Your doctor may change the
- dose until you are taking the amount of medicine that its right for you to control your symptoms
 You may receive a starting kit with doses marked by day. The pills in this kit showly increase your daily dose over time so that you and your dootfor may
- determine what the best dose is for you. Different people respond differently to this medicine. You may not need the highest dose pill in this kit or you may need an even higher dose to relieve your symptoms. You should carefully follow your doctor's advice on the use of this kill.
- If you miss your dose, do not double your next dose. Take only your usual dose 1 to 3 hours before your next berthime.
- Contact your doctor, if you stop taking REQUIP for any reason. Do not restart without consulting your doctor.

 You can take REQUIP with or without food. Taking REQUIP with food may decrease the chances of feeling nauseated

What are the possible side effects of REQUIP?

- Most specifie who take RECUIP Indicate it well. The most commonly regorder side effects in operate laking PCOUP IP ICS. are manaer, working, durines, and directiones or steepiness. You should be careful until you know if RCOUP, affects your ability to remain after white dopn commat daily advisers, and you should witch to the development of significant deprime deeponess or espocate of billing askeps. It is possible that you could fall stakeps while doing normal activities such as driving a car, driving playcal takes, or using hazardous michigant while taking RCOUP are greater if you are taking other medicines that cause of down the stake of the prediction of the countries while taking RCOUP are greater if you are taking other medicines that cause of down and are staken and the prediction of the cause of the prediction of the prediction of the cause of the prediction of the predicti
- When you start taking REQUIP or when you increase your dose, you may feel
 dizzy, nausstand, sweeth yor fairly, when first standing up from sitting or hing
 down. Therefore, do not stand up quickly after sitting or lying down, particularly
 if you have been stiffing or lying down for a long period of time. Take a minute
 sitting on the adop of the bed or chair before you get up.
- Hallburinations (unreal sounds, visions, or sensations) have been reported in patients taking REQUIP These were uncommon in patients taking REQUIP for RLS. The risk is greater in patients with Parkinson's disease who are eliderly, taking REQUIP with: -dopa, or taking higher doses of REQUIP than recommended for RLS.

This is not a complete list of side effects and should not take the place of discussions with your healthcare providers. Your doctor or pharmacist can give you a more complete list of possible side effects. Talk to your doctor about any side effects or problems you may have.

Other Information about REQUIP

Studies of people with Parkinson's disease show that they may be at an increased risk of developing metanoma, a form of stim cancer, when compared to people without Parkinson's disease. It is not known if the problem is associated with Parkinson's disease or the medicines used to freat Parkinson's disease. REQUIP is one of the medicines used to treat Parkinson's disease, therefore, patients being treated with REQUIP should have protein can examinate.

A small number of patients taking medicines to treat Parkinson's disease, including REQUIP, have developed problem with parabiling it is not known if this problem is directly related to the medicines or is due to other reasons. If you or your family notices that you have an unusual urge to gamble, talk to your doctor.

- . Take REQUIP exactly as your doctor prescribes it
- Do not share REQUIP with other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have.
- . Keep REQUIP out of the reach of children
- . Store REQUIP at room temperature out of direct sunlight
- . Keep REQUIP in a tightly closed container

This leaflet summarizes important information about REQUIP Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in this leaflet. Do not take REQUIP for a condition for which it was not prescribed. For more information, talk with your doctor or pharmasis. They can give you information about REQUIP that is written for healthcare or ordessionals.



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IS BIRD FLU OVERHYPED?

By ANDREW WEIL, M.D.



ANXIETY ABOUT AVIAN FLU IS spreading far faster than the disease. Watch enough reports on television about the outbreaks in Turkey, and you could worry yourself sick. In my opinion, the anxiety is

H E A L T H

unfounded. At the moment, the H5N1 influenza virus is mainly a threat to birds. The virus can infect and kill other animals but only if they have close contact with infected birds. The big concern is that it will gain the ability to pass easily from person to person, possibly by exchanging genes with an ordinary flu virus in the body of some unlucky person infected with both. That has not happened yet, and until it does, there can be no pandemic. Much has been made of the virulence and

lethality of the avian-flu virus, but new findings suggest that mild and asymptomatic infections in humans may have gone unnoticed; the virus may turn out to be far less deadly than we have been led to believe. Even if it does mutate into a more transmissible form, its virulence would probably diminish over time. That is the general pattern of all influenza pandemics, including the terrible one of 1918.

In addition, we would have a chance to stop the epidemic spread of a mutated avian-flu virus by containing it at its point of origin. A few mining towns in Colorado were able to avoid the 1918 flu by barring outsiders for a few months during the epidemic. Australia mostly escaped because of a strict quarantine of incoming ships.

In 1918 scientists did not know what viruses were and did not under-



The outbreaks in Turkey are cause for concern, not panic

stand how they caused disease. Today we know a lot about them, can make vaccines against them and have some effective antiviral drugs. We also have methods of monitoring disease outbreaks and communicating information about them

flu. We do not need to lose sleep over it. Have a question about bird flu for Dr. Weil? Go to time.com/askdrweil

in the past. There are

plenty of health threats

to worry about that are

take precautions against.

ordinary seasonal flu that

is in full swing (and can

still be warded off with a

keep an eve on the avian

flu shot). We need to

real and that we can

among them the

DOCTOR'S **ORDERS**



THE CASE FOR HITTING SNOOZE

That groggy discombobulation you feel upon called sleep inertia, and a study in J.A.M.A. reports that it can be as debilitating as being legally drunk. Its most severe effects, however. usually fade in 10 min.

The percentage of risk of suffering major depression that can genes, in women vs. men, according to a study of 42,161 twins by researchers from the Virginia Commonwealth University School of Medicine

COUGH SYRUPS



BREASTFED KIDS. SLIMMER TEENS

A new study in Epidemiok gy finds that the longer infants are breastfed-as opposed to bottle-fedthe less likely they are to become overweight as teens. Experts recommend breastfeeding exclusively for Baby's first six months. -By Sora Song





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By REBECCA WINTERS KEEGAN P E O P L E

BRAD AND ANGIE BROOD WATCH

It's official. The world's hottest human is in utero. "Yes, I'm pregnant," ANGELINA JOLIE told an aid worker in the Dominican Republic, according to PEOPLE. That pretty much snuffs out any doubts about the relationship between Jolie, 30, and BRAD PITT, 42, who for months have been cozily co-parenting two international adoptees. Cambodian-born MADDOX, 4, and Ethiopianborn ZAHARA MARLEY, 1. The oft denied romance began amid rumors that Pitt and his ex-wife Jennifer Aniston split because he wanted to start a family. Enter irresistible, orphan-toting U.N. spokeswoman Jolie, and by December, a smitten Pitt was formally adopting Maddox and Zahara. Jolie has said she would like to adopt again. Apparently, the couple's shared dream of a U.N.-style playroom has only just begun.



BECAUSE EVERY STORY NEEDS A TORY

It's a wonder Andrew Lloyd Webber didn't beat them to it. In Thatcher: The Musical, opening next month in Britain, an all-female cast will sing its way through the life of former Prime Minister MARGARET THATCHER, 80. The Foursight Theatre troupe plans to tour the nation with fron Lady-inspired ditties like The Cabinet Shuffle. Nothing says toe tapper like the champion of free markets.



BEYONCE GOES FROM BOOTYLICIOUS TO BOUFFANT

Ellors acting BENONCE, center, in his big-sceen version of the musical Dreampting.

Before casting BENONCE, center, in his big-sceen version of the musical Dreampting, center of the Ellor Confort had been are restricted, estate character, he says. Once the singer proved she could put a clamp on the amps, condon picked forary winer AMIA NONI ROSE, left, and American Indir's ENNIFER HUDSON to fill out the Dreams, a 1960s group loosely based on the Supremes. None of the states has seen the 1989s musical, but no matter. The dramas that show-by wome enduria wer timen on the suprementation of the states have been to the suprementation of the states have been to the suprementation of the suprementation

Q&A ALBERT BROOKS

There was controversy over the film's title.

People being afraid of the word Muslim is the

In Albert Brooks' latest directorial project, Looking for Comedy in the Muslim World, the U.S. government sends the funnyman to South Asia and he almost starts World War III.

reason I made the movie. It doesn't attack religious beliefs. There are R-rated sex comedies that are far more offensive. You were nervous about screening it in Dubal. Did you really think Arabs were that uptight? When we turn on the TV, there are people so swyaring that everyone there hates America. So what did I know? But they were one of the best comedy audiences I've ever had. They were grateful to see an American movie where Muslims weren't the bad guys. I don't know why this country doesn't do more on a human-to-human basis around the world. We can still bromb them

if that's what we choose, but it wouldn't hurt to take a few more people out to dinner.

Why shoot in India, a country of Hindus? This is dealt with in a scene. A government official tells me, "There are over 150 million Muslims in India. That enough for yar" Even if I wanted to shoot in the Amb world, I wanst able to. Did you film in Pakistan? I'm not going to say. We were near the border, and we might have stepped in.

So what makes Muslims laugh? The Muslims on my crew told me Sikh jokes like "How many Sikhs does it take to play a game of chess?" I had a Hindu driver, and guess what he told me: Muslim jokes. —By Nadia Mustafa



We Don't Need a New King George

How can the President interpret the law as if it didn't apply to him?

SOMEWHAT LEGAL LAW IS A LITTLE LIKE A SOMEWHAT pregnant woman. At first blush, it seems like an absurdity. But President Bush disagrees. In the past five years, quietly but systematically, he has been arguing that the law doesn't always apply to him. How has he done this? By attaching "signing statements" that spell out his own attitude to bills he signs.

Previous Presidents have sporadically issued signing statements, but seldom and mainly as boilerplate or spin. Until the 1980s, there had been just over a dozen in two centuries. The

President's basic legislative weapon, after all, is the veto power given him by the founders. He can use the power as leverage to affect legislation or kill it. But he cannot legislate himself or interpret the law counter to Congress's intent. Signing statements were therefore relatively rare instances of presidential nuance or push-back. In eight years, Ronald Reagan used signing statements to challenge 71 legislative provisions, and Bill Clinton 105.

In five years, President Bush has already challenged up to 500 provisions, according to one tally-far, far more than any predecessor. But more important than the number under Bush has been the systematic use of the statements and the scope of their

content, asserting a very broad legal loophole for the Executive. Last December, for example, after a year of debate, the President signed the McCain amendment into law. In the wake of Abu Ghraib, the amendment banned all "cruel, inhuman and degrading" treatment of U.S. military detainees. For months, the President threatened a veto. Then the Senate passed it 90 to 9. The House chimed in with a veto-proof majority. So Bush backed down, embraced McCain and signed it. The debate was over, right? That's how our democracy works, right?

Not according to this President. Although the meaning of the law was crystal clear and the Constitution says Congress has the exclusive power to "make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water." Bush demurred.

He issued a signing statement that read, "The executive branch shall construe Title X in Division A of the Act, relating to detainees, in a manner consistent with the constitutional authority of the President to supervise the unitary executive

Andrew Sullivan's blog, the Daily Dish, can be found at time.com

branch and as Commander in Chief and consistent with the constitutional limitations on the judicial power."

Translation: If the President believes torture is warranted to protect the country, he'll violate the law and authorize torture. If the courts try to stop him, he'll ignore them too. This wasn't quibbling or spinning. Like the old English kings who insisted that Parliament could not tell them what to do. Bush all but declared himself above a law he signed. One professor who specializes in this constitutional area, Phillip J. Cooper of Portland State University in Oregon, has described the power

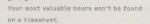
grabs as "breathtaking."

And who came up with this innovative use of presidential signing statements? Drumroll, please. Samuel Alito, Supreme Court nominee, way back in 1986. In a Feb. 5 memo, he wrote, "Since the president's approval is just as important as that of the House or Senate, it seems to follow that the president's understanding of the bill should be just as important as that of Congress." That is, of course, a very strange ideawhich is why, until then, signing statements had been sporadic and rare. Courts have always looked solely to congressional debates in interpreting laws Congress has passed. In laws with veto-proof margins, the President's view is utterly

irrelevant. Alito seemed to concede that at the time, recognizing the "novelty of the procedure and the potential increase of presidential power."

Alito, of course, didn't foresee the war on terrorism. But put a war President's power together with the new use of signing statements, and Executive clout has been put on steroids, "If you take this to its logical conclusion, because during war the Commander in Chief has an obligation to protect us, any statute on the books could be summarily waived," argued Senator Lindsey Graham, a Republican from South Carolina.

As Graham shows, this isn't a Republican-Democrat issue. It's a very basic one. A President, Democrat or Republican, has every right to act unilaterally at times to defend the country. But a democracy cannot work if the person who is deputed to execute the laws exempts himself from them when he feels like it. Forget the imperial presidency. This is more like a monarchical one. America began by rejecting the claims of one King George. It's disturbing to think we may now be quietly installing a second one.



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